



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, SIR JOHN FOR-

RESCUE Knight, Chauncellor of the Exchequer,

Master of the great Wardrobe, and one of

the

Council.

Salisbury Bradford

Right Honourable, among
the multitudes of affec-
tions that do most wor-
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Epistle Dedicatory.

of in the slender testimony
vnpartiall or vncorrupted wit-
esse (I meane this worke, pleading
from loue and dutie your Honors pa-
tronage:) if it may gaine but that vsual
& accustomed acceptance that your
bounty hath vouchafed to dispose to
each ordinary well willing affection,
I shal rest furnished with a right plea-
sing content, deriving the same from
your noble disposition, which is euery
way rather inclined to fauour than
sinister construction. The worke it
selfe doth carry an absolute commen-
dation without my praise, being in
worth and desert, speaker for the Au-
thour: Albeit not to derogate from
his deseruing, the worke is simply
of it selfe a very profitable, & no lesse
politickall discourse; which is intituled
by

The Epistle Dedicatory

by my true meaning
plead only for your Honour's
ued soud allowance, not in the wor
perfection, but in my intire and duti
full meanings resolution, which
is the aime of my thoughts
in my now intended de
sire, euer resting

Your Honors in all duties of affection.

A. L.





James Bradbye Book of Bedfode

The Printer to the courteous Reader.

differt from selfe



Ood Reader, I doe present
thee my loue by another
mans worke : entreating
thy esteeme of the one, as
of my sincere affection; and of the other,
as of a very sufficient pawn to giue thee
security that I meane good wil. I be dis-
course (I doubt not) will giue full satis-
faction to expectations contentment, be-
ing of it selfe worthy of all ingenious
wits esteeme, furnished with graue poli-
cie, approued with probable argument,

vary-

varying necessary and profitable
tions, and ending found plausible con-
fessions. My good will, charge, and paines,
haue all united in one consent to yeeld
thee contentment, delight, & profit. The
recompence that I craue of thee shall not
be ouerchargeable, further then volun-
tary kindnesse will freely vouchsafe to
extend, lesse then which, of good natures
I presume not to gaine, because an affa-
ble and courteous inclination cannot be
separated from it selfe. My words and
commendations cannot equall this work
in the due praise of the subiect and sub-
stance, neither wil I go about to persuade
them that haue eies and perfect sight, to
believe that light is a most high esteemed
objiect: Only I craue that all right censu-
ring iudgements doe retaine their owne
vertues,

s, and neither derogate from the
inesse of the one, nor the intire wil-
ness of the other, and so I recom-
mend thee to a fauourable censure
of both, wishing thee the at-
taining of thy best
wishes.





The Mirrour of Policie.

¶ What Policie is, and how many
sorts of Politicke government there are;

Policie is deriuied from
the Greeke woord *ράτηα*,
which in our tongewe may
tearne Civilitie : and that
which the Grecians did name
Politick gouernement, the
Latines called, the Government of a Com-
monweale, or Ciuite societye.

All Citties and ciuile societies are ordained
to attaine vnto some good, for all they that en-
ter into league and confederacion of societies,
they doe it to purchase vnto themselves that
good which seemeth vnto them to bee either
profitable, pleasant, or honest. Here-hence fol-

In this necessary conclusion, that all Cities
and civil societies are ordained for some good:
and there is no societie but doth deeme, that in
their assembling together, they may attain vnto
some good. Now if euerie societie aimeth at
that vwhich is good, surely the best and grea-
test societie pretendeth to attaine vnto the best
and greatest good. Forasmuch then as a Cittie
(vwhich is the vnity of the citizens) is the most
perfect societie of all others, because it includ-
eth in it selfe, and containeth in the parts ther-
of all other societies, it followeth consequently
that a Cittie amongst all other societies pre-
tendeth to attaine to the greatest and cheefest
good.

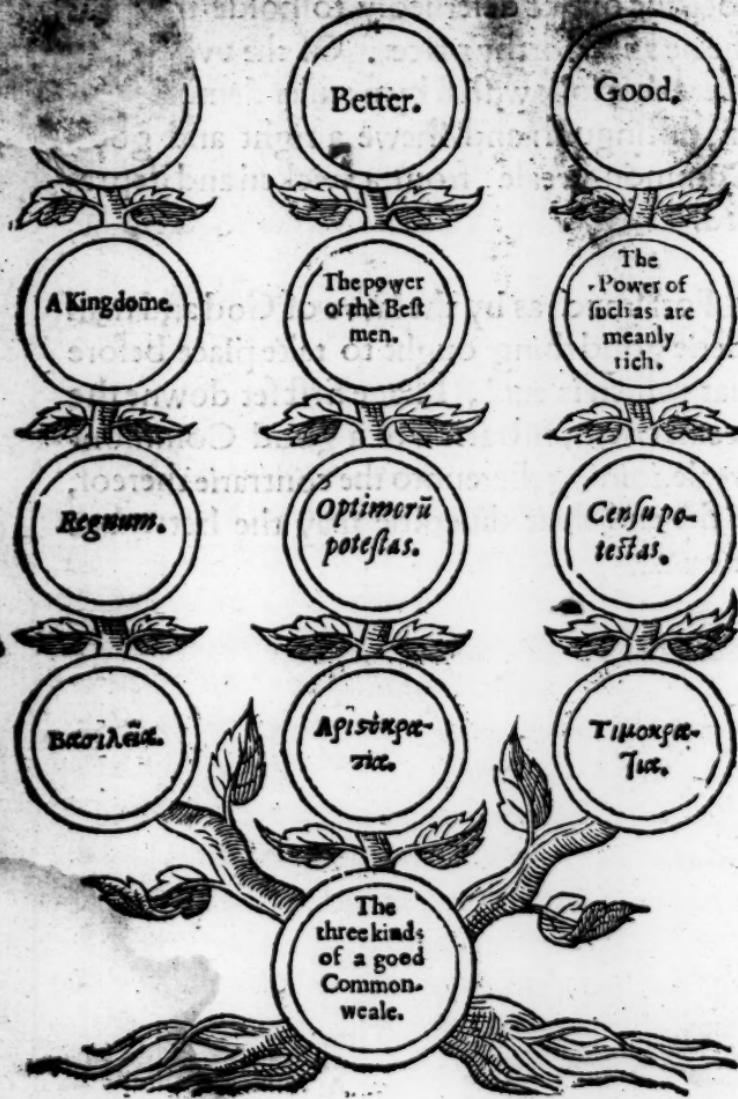
Moreover, in as much as that vwhich is a
common and vniuersall benefite to all men,
ought to bee helde of more account then that
vwhich extendeth it selfe but to the good of
some priuate persons; It followeth, that to dis-
pose a Cittie by good politike order, dooth
metite more then to rule a house after the best
Oeconomicall gouernement: for the good or-
der in housekeeping profiteth only the master
of the housshould, or his particular family, but
the politicke ordering of a Cittie is auailable
to all: so that it may be cōcluded, that amongst
all the precepts of Morall Philosopie, politick
doctrine

The Mirrour of Politie.

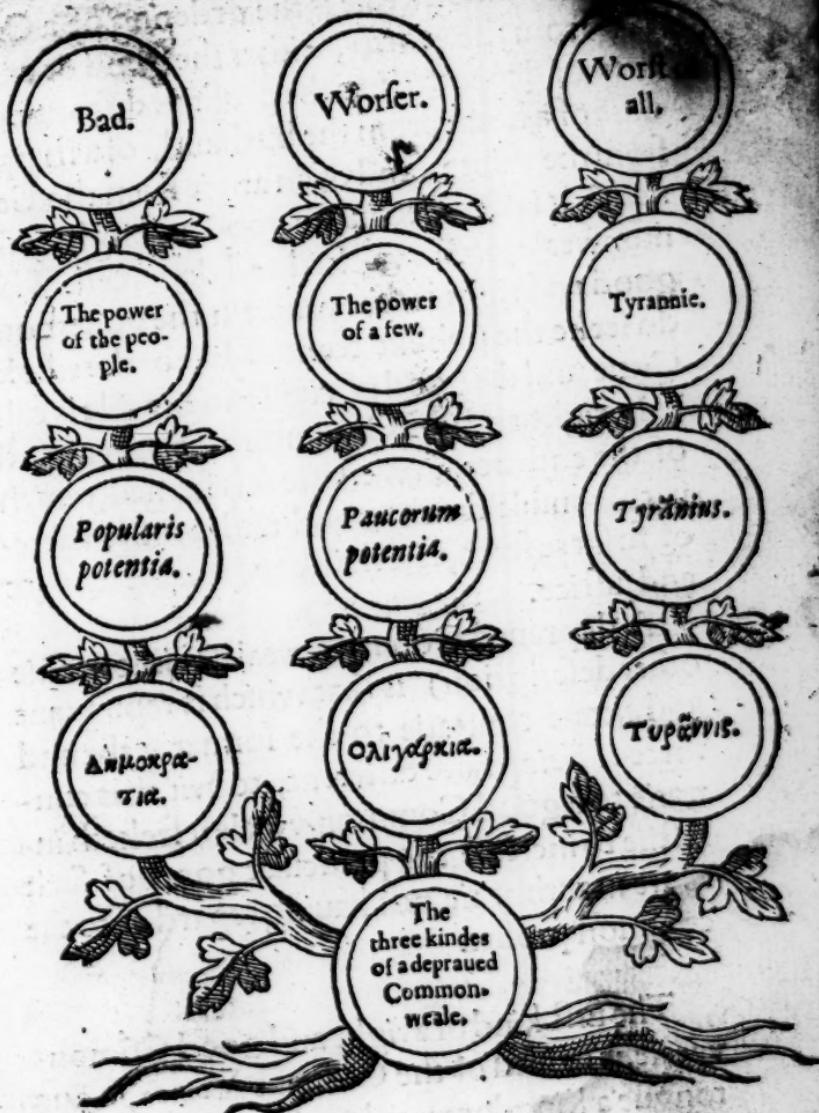
doctrine ought deseruedly to holde the cheefe and worthy place . Of the vwhich Trees that follow, shal by occuler demonstratiōn, distinguish and shewe a right and good Common-vveale , from a vvicked and depraved.

Forasmuch as by the lawe of God and man euerie good thing ought to take place before that vwhich is euill , I haue first set downe the occuler demonstration of a good Common-vveale, ioining thereunto the contrarie thereof, to the end their diuersitie may the better bee knowne.

The Mirrour of Politie,



The Mirrour of Policie.



A Commonweale is the ordering of a Cittie, from the vwhich, either the good or euill thereof dependeth: as the profit or discommoditie of a house, from the husband, of a shippe from the Pilote, and of an armie from the Generall. It is deuided into a good and right Commonweale, or to a wicked and depraued. The good and right is that vwherein the gouernors do seeke the publike commoditie of the whole Cittie, and the good of ciuill societie. It is called a right and iust Common-weale, in regard of the end therof vvhervnto it is framed, vwhich is to consult for the good and profite thereof so farre forth, as it shall be agreeable to right and iustice.

A depraued Commonweale(vwithout anie other description) is that vwhich is repugnant and cleane contrarie to the former, the end thereof being farre different, to vvit, that contrarie to a good Commonweale it seeketh iustlie to increase the particular good of such as are in authoritie, not hauing regard vnto the common profite.

The first kind of a right and good Commonweale, is named of the Grecians Βασιλεια, in our tongue a Kingdome, or kingly power. In this kind of Commonweale, the King or Monarch onely

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onely hath preheminence, who directeth all his thoughts for the common good, preferring alwaies the publike profite before his own priuat commodity. Aristotle in the eleuenth chapter of his third booke of Politickes, disputing of this matter, maketh a compatison of the government of a particular house, vnto a kingdome or Cittie : For like as in the house of a good husband, set in good order, there is but one head and maister, whom vve call the father of the houshold, So in this kind of Commonweale, the king is as a father of a familie in his kingdome or Cittie, and ought to rule ouer his subiects and Cittizens vwith such loue & care, as a father ouer his children, otherwyse hee loseth the precious and royll name of king, and instead thereof purchaseth to himselfe the title of a Tyrant, vvhich is odious both to God and man. Of this wword Tyrant, tyrannie is deriuied, vvhich is the first kind of a depraued Commonweale, as vve vvill shewe in the demonstration following . *Agasicles* king of the Lacedemonians, being asked howe a king might raigne safely and vwithout danger of his person , not hauing need of any guard or armed men about him for the securitie of his bodie, made this vvise answere, If a Prince or soueraigne (quoth he) vvill raigne ouer his subiects as the father of

a familie doth ouer his children, hee shall need no guard ; for the father vseth his children with more clemencie than feueritie: The like whereof euery good king ought to practise towards his subiects, if he desire to winne their loue and fauour.

The Philosopher *Chilon*, was wont to say, That euerie ruler ought to be meeke and gentle, and labour that his subiects do rather loue than feare him. Cicero affirmeth, that a good king is necessarily beloved of his subiects, and hath no need of any other weapons for his defence, than their good will & friendship, which is more auailable and of more force, than to be guarded by armed men. *Seneca* the Stoicke Philosopher, in his book of Clemencie, which he writ vnto *Nero* that Romane Emperor and Monster of mankinde, sheweth, that a king, Prince, or Emperour, neede not build any fortresses, castles, or bulwarkes for the safegard of his person : for the vertue of Clemencie (if he haue skill to vse it) will bee sufficient to keepe him safe, into what place soeuer he goe, or wheresoeuer hee be. For the loue of subiects towards their Prince, is an invincible fortresse. And that I may a little touch that question which hath beene so often debated, Whether it be more agreeable to Nature , and more profitable to mankind,

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mankind, to liue vnder the gouernement of one alone, or vnder the authoritie of many, I will in as fewe wordes as I may , handle the matter.

Some haue held, that to liue vnder the rule of one King, or Prince, is a dangerous thing, in as much as it is a matter very difficult , here in this world, to finde one so perfect in euerie respect, as is fit and cōuenient for him that taketh that name vpon him. Moreouer, put case that it were possible, and that hee were of such perfection as were to be desired; notwithstanding, it is verie dangerous, and to be feared (considering the frailetie of man, and the great libertie that kings haue to doe what they list, whether it bee good or euill, and the great power that they haue to execute what so their will leadeth them vnto) that in succession of time they grow not worse, &c of kings become Tyrants: Which is evident by many examples written by many approoued Authours, amongst vwhich I will recite some fit and appliable to the matter I entreat of. *Nero*, the first fife years of his Empire was so vertuous and gentle, that the Senate and people of Rome did reputt themselues happy to liue vnder the gouernement of so good a Prince. But aftervwards hee changed his maner of life, and fell into the deepe gulf of vvickednesse,

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nesses, so that he was named (as I said before) the Monster of mankind. *Caligula* in like sort began vertuouslie, and ended viciouslie, as *Tiberius* did, by the report of *Tranquillus*, & others. Now they that liue vnder the gouernement of manie, it is not likely, that all of them shoulde prove wicked, or if some one of them do, those which are good, woulde curbe and bridle him: As the Ephori did the kings of Lacedemonia. Such are the conclusions of those, that holde this opinion, that it is not so dangerous to liue vnder the rule of many, as of one alone: who may more easily change his nature, being a Monarch or only Lord, commanding ouer others, then many woulde doe in an Aristocrati-call gouernement, when as manie are chosen together to be as Lords and Gouernours ouer other, to rule the Commonweale as the Areopagites in Athens, the Ephorie in Lacedemonia, the Senate at Rome. That learned man *Cyprian Contarinus* in his historie of Venice, rehearseth a memorable history of a Duke of Venice, named *Martin Phaletrus*, who sometwo hundred years since, in regard of his vertues was chosen to be their Gouernour. But afterwards he changed his nature, in such sort, that the conspiracie of manie Noble men of that Cittie having secret intellige^ce with him, he determined

to change his authoritie into tyrannie, which greatly amased the whole Commonweale, but by the foresight of the Senate, their conspiracie vvas discouered, and for his offence, he was with his confederates, condemned and beheaded. And vwhereas the Senate vwas vizont to erect & set vp the Images of their Dukes in order in some place in the Senate house, it vwas decreed by the Senate, that the place vwhere the picture of the saied Duke should haue beene set, should remaine void, and in steade thereof an inscription, declaring the enormitie of his offence hung vp, vwhich vwas of this substance :

*If with these worthies, his deserts had claimed,
With them in honour should he haue ben placed:
They countries good, he countries ruine aimed,
By fame they live, by shame he dy'de disgraced.
None ioine with these but honour, praise, and fame,
He makes abode with base contempt and shame.*

To make their side more strong, they which speake against Monarchie, doe further say, that albeit that by the consent of wise men, principalitie is by them esteemed the best kinde of Common-weale : Neuerthelesse, Experience, vwhich is the Mistresse of Sciences, doth shewe

vs, that kings and Monarchs are depraved, and
of good become wicked: As vve may learne by
the example of Saule, king of the Hebrues, who
in a short time changed his manner of vertuous
life. Likewise they affirme, it is a matter very dif-
ficult, to find a King that vwill not become a ty-
rant; as appeareth by the speech of the High
Priest Samuel yfed vnto the people of Israel by
the expresse commandement of God, vvhile he
reciteth the greater part of tyrannies vwhich
Kings are vwoont to vs, as may appeare in the
first booke of Kings, the eight chapter. And
who so vwould on the contrarie side argue, that
a multitude and pluralitie is vnapt to gouerne,
and that therefore Aristotle said, That plurality
of principalities is euil; I answere and confesse,
that multitude of Gouernours is not fit: vvhich
ought to be vnderstood, vwhereas such a mul-
titude is not reduced vnto vnitie. For necessa-
rily it behoueth, that pluralitie in government
be brought to vnitie, as the strings of a Harpe
reduced to one harmony. In one hand there
are many fingers, yet are they all vunited to dis-
charge the office of the hand. When as the go-
vernment of many is vunited in one vwill, then
vwithout doubt the Commonweale shall flour-
ish, as is manifest in the state of Venice, vvhich
hath lasted aboue these two hundred, yeares,
firme

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firme and in safetie , and is at this day more
mighty and rich then euer it was : And yet ne-
uerthelesse , it is vpheld by three different sorts
of gouernment : For in some matters of small
moment, it is ruled by the gouernment of the
people,in matters of more importance by the
Senate and Magnificos, and by the principality
of one,to wit,their Duke, who reduceth into
vnitie,as well the people as the Senate; and af-
ter this manner the said Commonweale flouri-
sheth . Those diuerse kinds of gouernments
being vnited together , and to say the truth,
scarce is the like Common-weale to be found,
both by the report of *Cassar Contarinus*, as also of *Machiavile*, which may well be verified by
the long continuance thereof : which without
doubt,proceedeth of the agreement between
the people and the Senate , vnder the Monar-
chie of their Duke . This temperature is the
cause that those seditions and partialities are
not seene in Venice, which doe daily spring
in other Commonweales in Italy.

But to returne to our principall matter, notwithstanding the reasons before alleadged, the common consent of al Philosophers doth hold this as resolued, that amongst the three kinds of a good Commonweale, Principality is the

only best and most assured : For therein one alone doth bear rule, vwho either doth or ought excell all others in vertue, who by his singuler prouidence and princely care, thinketh on nothing els, but howv hee may profite the Commonwealthe, and vnto him all men doe yeeld obedience : Yea he is the marke, at the vwhich all his subiects doe aime, as the Poet *Claudius* vriteth to the Emperour *Theodosius*. In the other two kinds of Commonweale, many doe together hold the principalitie, many haue the vwhole managing of the Commonweale. In nature, one is before two, and Pluralitie is but a multiplication of vnities. Therefore one only Prince and Soueraigne ought to be preferred before the gouernment of many: vvhile manie do gouerne, there are many vices, murmurings, dissentions, treasons, priuy hatred, and hidden enmitie, vwhich cannot be vvhile the soueraignty belongeth vnto one only. Moreouer, the principality of one is more conformable and agreeing vnto the diuine and highest Monarchy of God(vwho ruleth ouer all things) than the commandement of many. It is God(as the Apostle saith)vwho is king of Kings, and Lord of lords, vwhose power stretcheth ouer all things both celestiall, terrestiall, and infernal, ruling and governing them by his diuine prouidence . We

may

The Mirroure of Politie.

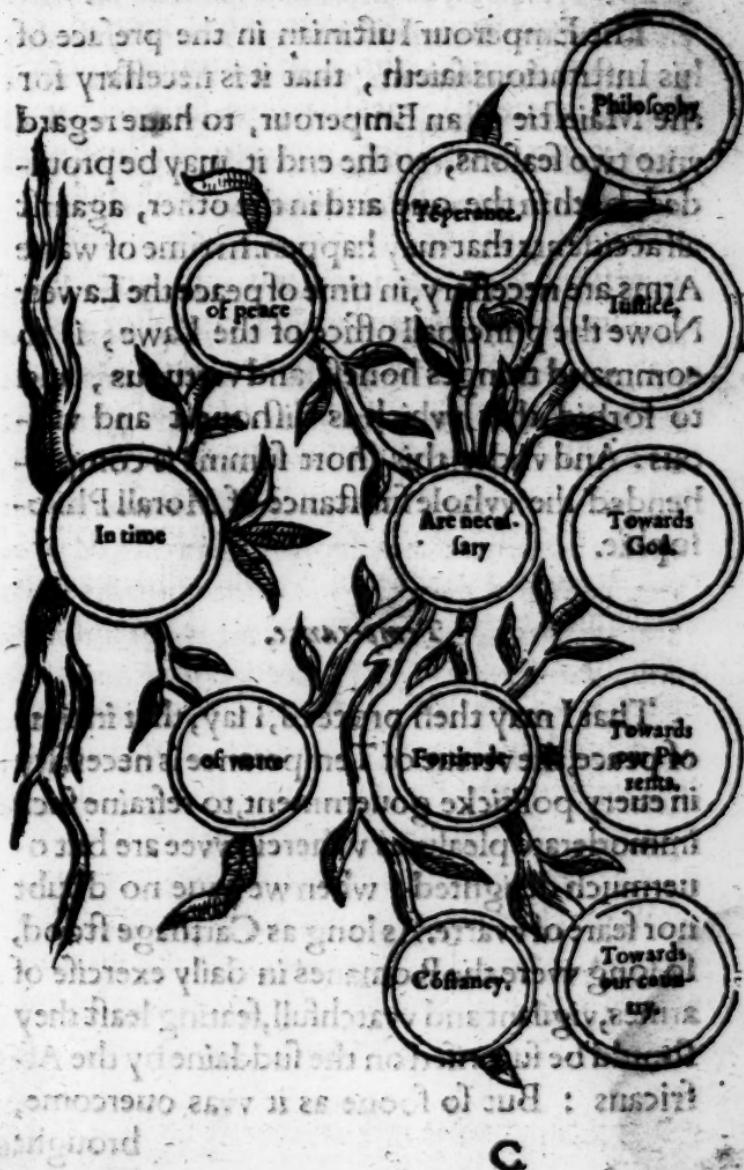
may then conclude by that vwhich is alreadie
said, that the soueraignty of one alone is better,
more assured, and more durable than the go-
uernment of many. But yet that I may proceed
further, vvesee that Nature, or rather God him-
selfe, hath after a sort expressed this royall kind
of gouernmēt, as wel in things sensible (though
not partakers of reason), as in things vwithout
life: The Bees being gouerned and pricked for-
ward by an instinct of Nature, haue one only
king, vnder whose authority they go to vwarre,
dispose of their affaires, and liue in society to-
gether, acknowledging one king as their only
Generall and Gouernour, as vve may read in
Varo, Virgil, Collumella, Palladius, Constantine,
Cæsar, and other Authours who haue Collumella
written of Husbandry: what shall I say more, if we look
vp vnto the heauens, do not vve see one Sunne-
beare rule and principality ouer the rest of the
starres? do not we see that vniuersall is the begin-
ning of number, and that after we haue made a
long reckoning, and cast vp our account, vve
returne to one totall summe? What might this
signifie, that amongst all things created, vve shal
alwaies find some one to haue preheminence
aboue the rest of the same kind; as amongst rea-
sonable creatures man, amongst beasts the Ly-
on, amongst birds the Eagle, amongst graines.

of corne, Wheat; of drinke, Wine; of Aromaticall things, Balme; amongst mettals, Gold; amongst the elements, the fire. These naturall demonstrations doe teach vs, that amongst all the kinds of Commonweales, Principality and Roial gouernement is the best.

The second kind of a right and good Common-weale, is called in Greeke 'Aeristaphe', the power of the most good men: and this kind taketh place when a few men that are vertuous and approued for their wisdome and integrity, do gouerne the Commonweale: bending all their thoughts for the common profit, & preferring it before their priuate commodity. In Latine they are called *Optimates*, in as much as they are esteemed to be amongst others, the best and mast vertuous. This kind of Commonweale next vnto Principalitie, is the best: which as is said, hath the preheminence aboue all others.

Now in these two kinds of Commonweale, we are to consider that

The Mirror of Pæcœ.



The Emperour Iustinian in the preface of his Institutions saith, that it is necessary for the Maiestie of an Emperour, to haue regard vnto two seasons, to the end it may be prouided, both in the one and in the other, against all accidents that may happen. In time of warre Arms are necessary, in time of peace the Lawes. Nowe the principall office of the Lawe, is to command thinges honest and vertuous, and to forbide that which is dishonest and vicious. And vnder this short summe is comprehendēd the vvhole substance of Morall Philosophie.

Temperance.

That I may then proceed, I say, that in time of peace, the vertue of Temperance is necessary in every politicke government, to refraine such immoderate pleasures vvhetherin yvree are but ouermuch delighted, when we haue no doubt nor feare of warr. As long as Carthage stood, so long were the Romanes in daily exercise of armes, vigilant and vwatchfull, fearing least they should be surprised on the suddaine by the Africans : But so soone as it vvas overcome, brought

brought to ruine and razed by the decree of
the Senate (contrary to the opinion of *Scipio Nasica*) the youth of Rome being at liberty; &
freed from all care and feare of warre, let loose
the bridle of pleasure, and having no stranger
to exercise armes against, they converted them
against their owne bowels. And that this is true,
not long after the destruction of Carthage,
there followed ciuile warres and seditions, as
of *Scilla* against *Marius*, of *Cesar* against *Pompey*,
and such like, verifying the saying of *Horece*, That Rome would by hir owne proper
forces, runne to ruine. *Lucan* in the Pharsalian
warre, complaineth, that the Romanes in their
ciuile broiles turned their owne weapons into
their owne entrailes, vvhilst they should haue
sheathed them in the bodies of the Parthians
their capitan enemies. The Satyrical Poet great-
ly lamenteth, that long peace had done more
harme vnto Rome, then the continuance of
warre: For vwarre no sooner ceased, but all
common pleasures entred in steade thereof:
vwhich pleasures so effeminated and withdrew
their minds from warre, that the vworld then in
subiection to the Romanes, sufficiently reuen-
ged themselves of them.

Lycurgus, that great Lawgiver amongst the
C. ii. Laces.

Lacedemonians, is highly to be commended for the vertue of Temperance, banishing from his Commonweale all occasions of gluttonie, all daintiness of wines, and (to speak more generally) all allurements to pleasure, in matter of diet, vvhich are wout to make the body effeminate, as vvas proved in Hannibal, who in taking his delight in Pouilla, after the victory hee obtained at Canhas, hee let slip the opportunity to take Rome. The said Lycurgus, amongst other lawes, ordained that they should eat in publick view, and that especiall how should betaken, if any of the Citizens vvere ouer-curious and dainty in his face, vwhich vvas afterwards obserued by the Romanies, after they had brought their Commonweale into order, by the lawes called *Leges Sumptuariae*. Whiles that the name of Pouerty vvas honoured at Rome (vwhich vwas the space of 400 yeares after the foundation thereof). Pleasure could never set foot, nor take any roott there: but after that Potterie began to be contemned and held as vile, and the offices and dignities bestowed onely vpon rich men, Pleasure began to possesse the hearts of the Romane youth, yea so farre forth, that vertue immediatly tooke flight, and being lost, their Commonweale immediately fell to ruine.

Many

Many auncient Authors, do give good testimony of the auncient Romanes pouerty, as Pliny, Plutarke, Valerius, and others: but the contented poore life is rather to be attributed to the Grecians then to the Romanes, and specially to their Philosophers, as Democritus, Crates, Zeno, and Diogenes Sinecns, as we may read in *Diogenes Laertius*, in his history of the Grecian Philosophers. Amongst the Romanes, Q. Cincinatus deserueth to bee set in the first rancke of those that contented themselues with a poore kind of life, who possessing only four acres of ground, & a little cottage in the country, living by his labour, and contenting himselfe with his vertue and pouertie, was from the plough, chosen to be Dictator. *Fabricius* did eat with more delight and vwith more appetite in his earthen dishes, than *Dennis the Tyrant* in his golden vessels. *Seranus* vvas a mirrour of contented pouerty, and so vvas *Attilius*: What riches did *Emilius Scaurus* possesse, the most renowmed Senatour of his time? what wealth had *Paulus*, vwho triumphed ouer *Perseus*? he was so poore in his rich dignity, that after his death, his substance was not sufficient to restore his wife her dowyry.

The daughter of *Cneius Scipio* vwas endowed vwith the publicke treasure. *Menenius Agrippa*,

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and *Publilius* vvere left so poor, that they were buried without any pompe, which was a matter accustomed to be done vnto those, vvhich in their life had obtained the dignitie of Consulship. By this discourse may be gathered, howe by succession of time the manners of men came to be corrupted, and so consequently Commonweales, albeit that at the first they were well ordered, and the Cittizens well governed. Who soeuer will compare the sparing of *Fabrius*, with the excesse and gluttony of the Emperor *Vitellius*, vwill wonder at the corruption of manners, the one contenting himselfe to feed on Cabbridge, and the other being not satisfied at one meale to haue his table furnished with two thousand fishes, and seuen thousand sorts of foule and birds. I omit to speake of the banquets and feasts of *Lucullus*, of *Caius Caligula*, of *Heliogabalus*, and of *Marcus Antonius*, who should especially alledge, considering the time he liued in vwith *Cleopatra* Queene of Agypt, who according to the report of *Pliny* and of *Plutarch*, caused pearles of inestimable value to bee melted in vineger, to feede more daintily. Wherefore I maywell say, that *Lycurgus* did with reason forbid all superfluity of meat in his Common-vveale, and all pompe in apparel, all sweetsmels, perfumes, and ointments, and

The Mirrour of Policies.

and all such like enticements of pleasure,

Justice.
In Justice is alwaies necessary, but especially in
time of peace, to bridle men from doing euill,
and to the end that a Cittie or Commonweale
be not a denre of robbers and theeuers. Justice
may be vnderstod, either as it is a speciall and
generall vertue, or for a vniuersall perfection.
As concerning the first, Justice is a cardinall
vertue, according vnto the vwhich right is done
to every man. St. Ambrose in his booke of offices
saith: That Justice is that vwhich yeeldeth to e-
very man that vwhich is his, not coueting that
vwhich belongeth to another. Being taken in
the second sence, Justice is no other thing then
an vniuersall perfection of vertue, vwithout spot
of iniquity. S. Hierome vwriting to Demetrius,
saith: That all kinds of vertue are contained vnder
the onyl name of Justice. Phisarch reporteth,
that Theopompos being demaunded by vwhat
meanes a king might assure his estate, answe-
red: That kingdome shall be safe and durable;
and that king invincible, if he maketh the ver-
tuoustmen of his kingdome, partakers of his
dignity, and that he do not bestow the politick
administration of any office to any but to such
as are learned and vertuous, yea to such as haue

of

The Mirour of Justice.

of long time ben strained vp in vertue vnd sex
sides that, in as much as in hym lieth, he doe de-
fend his subiects from oppression and vrong.

Likewise Lys being asked wh[er]e Gistie in
all Greece a man might make choice of to dwel
most safely sherein, made this answere: That
the City of most safety, was that wh[er]e in Ju-
stice vvas inviolably kept, and vnfiercas the ver-
tuos vvere maintained and rewarded, and the
vicious punished. Saint *Augustine* saith, That
kingdomes and Common-weales are dennes
and receptacles of theeuers, if Justice raigneth
not in them.

Philosophie.

Philosophie in time of peace hath her pecu-
liar exercise, for whē vve are exempt from trou-
ble of wvar, the mind is quiet and fit for all ho-
nest recreation, vwhich I vnderstatid to consist
in the studie of learning, whchby reason is to
be preferred before al other kinds of businesse:
Plato, surnamed the Divine, vwas ywoont to say,
That Commonweals vvere happy, when as ei-
ther kings vvere Philosophers, or Philosophers
did beare rule. And that this is true, all famous
and flourishing Commonweales haue drawne
their Lawes from the fountaines of Philoso-
phie.

From

From vwhenee had the Athenians their laws, but from the Philosopher *Solon*? The Lacedemonians, but frō *Lycurgus*? the Mitilenians, but from *Pittacus*? the Crotoniates, but from *Pitaganus*? the Scythians, but from *Ariobaris*? The Romane Commonwealth, had it not Princes, Dictators, Consuls, Senators, Tribunes, (& after the Consulship) Emperours endued with al kind of learning? What Philosophy ywas in *Iulius Cæsar*, *Augustus*, *Traian*, *Adrian*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Alexander Severus*? do both not the wise man say in the eight of his Proverbes, By me kings do raigne, and by me Lawmakers do decree and ordaine, that vwhich is iuste in *opinacio*

Fortitude.

After the declaration of the three tides containing the vertues necessary in time of peace, it followeth consequently, that vwe are to handle the other two that are necessary in time of vwarre, to wit, Fortitude, and Constancy. Fortitude hath many definitions; as well by moral Philosophers, as by Divines: but that which serueth best to our purpose, is that vwhich Saint Thomas setteth downe in his Commentaries vpon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Hebrues, vwhere he saith that Fortitude is a vertue vwhich tempereth and reduceth feare and audacious-

The Mirrour of Politie.

nesse to mediocritie, and that for the benefit of the Commonweale. Fortitude is a staidnesse and constancie of heart to sustaine or repulse things that are hard to beare. S. Hierosme in his Commentaries vpon *Johann*, saith: That the part of a stout man is not to be astonied and cast downe in aduersity, nor to bee ouer-haughtie minded in prosperity; but to moderate and bring both the one and the other vwithin the square of mediocritie. Saint Ambrose writing to *Simplicius*, saith: That foolish men are changeable like vnto the moone, but a wise man is not astonied through feare; nor altered through violence, nor cast downe vwith sorrow, nor proud vwith prosperity.

¶ Fortitude exerciseth her office especially in three things, towards God, towards our Parents, and towards our Country. As concerning the first, wee read in the holy Scripture, that *David* being as yet in the spring of his age, onely armed with five stones, and a shepheards sling, vwith full confidence in God (who vvas his principall and cheife shield and buckler) through the vertue of Fortitude, took courage to assaile the horrible and fearefull Giant *Goliath*, vwith his armour and club, whome hee did overcome disarmed, and to conclude, slue him.

By

By which we may consider what courage God giueth to those that trust in him.

As touching the second, vvhich is the exercise of Fortitude towards our parents; the yong Romane Knight *Emilius Lepidus*, in the conflict vvhich was betweene the Romanes and *Hannibal*, neare vnto Tescin, seeing his father taken and vvounded, tooke such courage to succour him, that he deliuered him from the danger, either of death or captiuitie, killing him that had vvounded and taken his father; for which act, as an example of Fortitude vnto posterity, an Image was in publicke place at Rome set vp for him, by the sight and consideration thereof, to draw the youth of Rome to his imitation, and to be constant and stout in the defence of their Parents.

As concerning the exercise of Fortitude towards our country, the memorable example of *Leonides* king of the Spartanes may suffice, vwho (as *Iustine* reporteth) being only accompanied wth 400 men, in the strait of *Thermopyles*, resisted by the space of three daies an infinite multitude of *Xerxes*, the king of Persia, his army, and persuaded himselfe rather to die in glory for the defence of his country, than to liue and see his people brought into seruitude and subiection.

The Mirtour of Politie.

book bothe good & new 1511. In ym a ydlyng v.
of Constanſie. Both oþer

Now to descend vnto the declaration of
Conſancie, we ought to vnderſtand, that
Conſancie is a vertue to be required at al times,
but principally in wvar, vwhen as the accidents
that happen are more horrible then in time of
peace, in regard, that lawe is not in vigour and
ſorce, according to the ſaying of Marius, affir-
ming that the noife of armoūr did ſo trouble
him, that he could not heare the lawes. Conſancie
therefore is a vertue, that caueth a man
to perſiſte in that which is good, againſt the di-
ſiculty of all extenſall lets. Conſancie accord-
ing to the morall Philosophers, is a firme
ſtaiednes of couraſe, perſeuering in that which
is propoſed. The Lion is eſteemed to haue pro-
heminence in ſtrength aboue all beaſts, to whom
Nature hath ſo framed the necke, that it cannot
bow neither to one ſide nor to another, but by
constraint is alwaies carried ſtraight and ſtiffe.
It is written of the Elephant, that it hath no
ioint in his legs, ſo that hee cannot bow them
any way. The Cipreſſe tree aboue all others,
commeth neareſt to the likenesſe and forme of
a piller, and beſides it hath this propertie, that
it boweth not vnder a burthen, but vwhen any
thing is laid vpon it, it forceth the burthen up-
wards,

wards, and groweth higher, more vpright, and strong vnder the weight, as both the Grecians, Latines, and Barbarians doe report, vwho haue vvritten of the nature & vertue of plants. These similitudes doe aduertise vs to be firme & constant in all our aduersities. Such constancy the Machabees were endued vwithall, as vvee may read in their histories. Many Grecians, Latines, and Barbarians, are praised for this vertue: but aboue all others, the Saints and holy Martirs deserue commendation, vwho constantly indured diuerte intollerable kind of torments, yea euen death it selfe, for the maintaining of their faith. *Seneca* the Stoick, exhorteth vs to this vertue of Constancy, in his 107 Epistle, in these vwords: That vve ought not to be amased, nor wonder at the suddaine chances that do befall vs, but we ought rather to apply our minds to all aduentures that may fall out, premeditating that vve are borne to beare them, and that nothing can happen, but that beforehand it is ordained and decreed it shall befall. It is a thing conuenient to suffer that constantly vwhich can not bee auoided nor shunned by any humana force, which wee may doe vwell, in submitting our selues to the vwill of God, of vvhō all things doe depend. Let vs then endure patiently, and suffer constantly that which happeneth vnto

The Mirrour of Policie.

vs,in as much as vvee haue neither the power
nor the skill to resist it.Let vs follow our King
constantly, and maintaine his quarrell, and not
imitate the cowardly knight, who followed his
Prince to the vwarre vveeping.Destinies(sayth
one) do lead those that consent, vwillingly; and
draw the obstinate by force.To make shourt,I
omit to speake of the constancie of *Socrates*,
of *Dyon*, of *Phocion*, of *Alexander the great*,
and(to come vnto the Romans) of *Q Scauola*,
of *Metellius*, of *Fabius*, of *Fulvius*, of the two
brethren of *Gracchi*, who suffered death for the
law *Agraria*, and others, vwho through their
constancie(in despight of the iniury of Time)
shall liue for euer.

Now to returne to our first purpose following
the declaration of our first tree, the third
kind of a good and right Common-vyeale, is
that vwhich the Greekes call *Τιμοκρατία*, and the
Latines *Censu potestas*. This kind in times past
peculiarly obtained the name of a Common-
vyeale, vwhich may be vnderstood two manner
of vvaies:First in that, vwherein the authority of
gouerning, consisteth in the multitude of men
of meane calling, affecting and conseruing the
estate of the Citie in mediocritie: I doe in this
place by men of mean calling,vnderstand such
as hold a meane between the rich and the poor,

the

the noble and ignoble (vvhom the French doe ordinarily and in contempt call Villaines) and such as by abundance and superfluity, wee can not tearme rich; nor by vwant, poore : That is, such as haue neither attained so high a degree to be called vwealthie, nor are of so base estate, to be tearemed poore. The common maxime of all morall Philosophers is, that vertue consisteth in Mediocrity, & vice in Extremity: which the Poet *Horat*e hath set downe in many places of his vworkes. The meane estate of a City is that vvhich is placed in the middle betweene a high calling, and a base vocation, which is as a vertuous temperature betweene two vicious extremities . This kind of Commonvveale for the most part taketh place in small Citties, which albeit it is not vwealthy and magnificent, yet is it so much more quiet, and of long continuance, vvhilest it maintaineth it selfe in Mediocricie.

Secondly, this kind hath particularly obteined the name of Commonvveale, as it may generally bee giuen to all other kinds, vwhether they be good or bad, and this kind is nothing els but a temper of the power of a fewe, and a popular gouernment, vvhich two gouernmēts are kinds of a depraved Commonvveale , as shal be more amplie declared in the Commen-

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taries of the second tree. For the power of a few hath especially no other respect but to the fauour of such as are rich and mightie: and popular authoritie (on the contrarie) hath no other regard, but to the fauor of the poore: and (as we may see by experience) in every Commonweale or Communaltie, there are alwaies without comparison, more of the poorer sort, than of rich men. But this kind (if it keepeth Mediocritye) hath regard as vwell to the poore, as to the rich. And in as much as Riches and Pouertie, (vwhen they are in extremitie) do bring a Commonweale to ruin, we must needs uphold Mediocritye, to the which the Poet Horace would no richer, nor more noble Epitheton, than to term it Golden. Now, as amongst sharpe thorns, the sweet Rose is gathered: so betweene the two kinds of a depraued Commonweale, to wit, Oligarchie, and Democratie, this commonweale Timocratie is founded: vwhich may bee compared to the Rose. In simple and uncomponed commonweales, we may understand such as are mixed and compounded: and in one citie or commonweale may bee found Monarchie, Aristocracie, and Timocracie; as we may see in the common-weale of Venice, vwhich is framed of the three kinds of a good common-weale, which through their good coun-

counsell and phudent aduisa, they doth for to well
mingle together, that their Common-weale
flourisheth more at this day then euer it did,
as *Contarinius* dooth at large declare in his *Historie*.
Historie of Contariniis to Holley chay

Now, in as much as vve liue ynder a Monar-
chie and kingly gouernement, it shall not bee
farre out of the way to handle this question,
vwhich hath beene long since debated by manie
good Authours, to vvit, Whether it bee
better to elect and chuse Kings to gouerne,
or vwhether it vvere more conuenient they
should rule by lineall descent and Hereditarie
succession?

The common Resolution is (whervnto *Ari-
stotle* doth agree in the ninth of his *Politicks*)
that vwhen election is made of Kings rightly
and as it ought, that is, that alwaies the best and
most vertuous of the vvhole Communaltie
bee chosen, and such a one vwho surpasseth
all other in wisdome, surely then it vvere more
auaileable to haue them by Election: For in
such sort, none should rule as king, but such a
one as vvere vwoorthie, vwhich happeneth not al-
vvaies, vwhen they attaine vnto the kingdome
by Hereditarie succession. For commonly (yea
and most often) you shall find, that if the father
vwas vertuous and wise, the sonne (vwho by

Wher all disleent is to succeed in the kingdome,
proueth vicious and vvicked. *Roboam* a foolish
and sencelesse king, void of all good counsell,
succeded *Salomon* a most wise Prince. *Sedecias*
(the vessel of all iniquitie) succeeded *Josias*
a iust, prudent, and good king. If vvee looke a-
mongst the Romans, after *Vespasian* a wise Em-
perour, his son *Domitian* raigned, a venie mon-
ster of mankind. After *Marcus Aurelius* so learn-
ned and vertuous a Prince, succeeded his sonne
Commodus, the very gulfe of all wickednesse. *Au-
relius* in his Epitaphes of the Emperors sayth,
That *Marcus Aurelius* had ben one of the most
happie Princes of the world, if he had not be-
got *Commodus*, vwho by his vices, did not onely
defame the stocke he came of, but his imperi-
all dignitie, and as a vvicked sonne did vtterly
deface the felicitie of his learned and vertuous
father, to vwhō it seemed that Nature did wrong
causing so bad a branch to spring of so good a
tree. *Solinus* in his vwork intituled *Polibistor*, ma-
keth mention, that in the Isle Tabrobana, kings
are chosen by election, not by nobilitie of
blood, nor by abundance of riches, but by a ge-
nerall voice of the people, they elect the most
auncient, prudent, and experienced amongst
others, such a one vwho hath no children, to the
end, that all occasion may bee taken away, to
make

make the royall dignitie Hereditarie. And if it happen, that during his reigne he engendreth any, he is deposed from his soueraintie, & another chosen in his place; furnished with qualities requisite for a king. Now albeit that manie approoued Authours haue held this opinion, that it is better to make kings by election, then by Hereditarie succession: notwithstanding, the vwickednesse of men, and insatiable couetousnesse to bear rule, haue shewed by evident effects, that it is more assured & quiet to commit the souereintie vnto such to vvhom it doth belong by Hereditarie succession, then to create them by election. For kings being aduaunced by election, all is full of ciuill dissencion, and many times the electors agree not well together, in as much as many doe seeke to bee kings either by right or vrong, each one making vwhat parts hee can for himselfe, so that most often the matter is determined by fire and sword. So great is the ambition of many vwhen they striue togither for a kingdome. Did not *Iulius Cesar* say, that he had rather bee the principall person in a countrey Towne, then the second man in Rome? These troubles and accidents happen not vwhen the sonne of a king succeedeth his father in the kingdome, for then all other are excluded from the hope to beare

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rule, knowing that the sonne must succeed his father in the Cowne, and that the soueraignty is due vnto him and to none other. After this manner, as the most assured course, the French Monarchie hath been gouerned, except some few examples to the contrarie, as may be seene by the Chronicles of Fraunce. And albeit that the Empire of the West, from the time of *Otho the third* of that name, vntill this present, is giuen by election, and not by succession, as is manifest to al men: notwithstanding, many times such iarras haue happened betweene the Electors of the Empire, that the end of it hath been taking of Armes, vtherof hath followed partaking, factions, warrs, and to conclude, the destruction of the Commonweale of Christendome: as you may read in such approoued Authors as haue writte therof, as amongst others, the Abbot of Sperges, and after him *Naucler*, who haue discoursed more copiously of the Hystory of the Germanes than any others. Euen in our age it is reported, but whether it be true or no I wil not averre, that the Emperour *Charles the fift* seeketh by all meanes possible to vnite the Empire vnto the house of ~~Ar~~ *Austrie*, and to make it Hereditarie to that house, and not by election, as it hath ben since the time of *Otho the third*: but I cannot bee persuaded that

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that it is so, neither is it likely, that the Pope, contrary to the determination of his predecessors, and the Princes Electors of the Empire, wwould barre themselues of so princely & great a priuiledge, as to make choice of the Emperour: vwhich vvas giuen vnto them by *Gregory* the fift, in the yeare 994, to gratifie *Otho* the third. But I vwill not stay long to discourse on this matter, following the exhortation of *Cicerio*, who doth admonish vs to speake little and modestly of the gods and of Princes, especially vwhen they are aliue. For as *Ouid* saith, Kings and Princes haue long armes and long hands, meaning that it is a dangerous matter to moue them to anger, in as much as their power stretcheth farre. And in this place vwill I end my declaration of the tree of a right and good Commonweale, and so consequently goe forward vwith the Commentaries of an vnjust and depraued gouernment.

*N*ow a depraued Commonweale is devide into three kinds, Piamente contrary vnto the three former kindes of a good and right Commonweale.

In the first title is placed Tyrannicall power, in the second, the power of a Few, in the third, the power of the People. For these three kinds.

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are taken according vnto the same differences
of the three sorts first spoken of, vwhich in the
first title treateth of the gouernement of one a-
lone; in the second of some, and those, few in
number ; in the third, of manie, gouerning
rightly.

As concerning the first title, wee ought to
know, that Tyrannicall power is put into the
hands of one alone , vwho beareth rule, or ra-
ther as I may say, tyrannizeth according to his
disordinate will, not obseruing the laws or pre-
cepts of Iustice. The contrarie vnto this, is the
good King or Prince, vwho gouerneth and ru-
leth his people , not according to his sensuall
appetite and vwill, but by ripenesse of counsell,
obseruation of lawes, and right of iustice. And
like as of all the sorts of a good and wel gouer-
ned Commonweale, Principalitie is the best :
so likewise of all gouernements of a depraved
Commonweale, Tyrannie is the vworst. Many
good and approued Authors, as vvel amongst
the Grecians, as the Romanes, haue wrtten of
this monstrous beast Tyranny, hateful to God
and to good men, but amongst the rest of the
Grecians, Zenophon, a Philosopher of *Platoe's*
sect, hath written most learnedly, and most elo-
quently , vwho for the svveetenesse of his stile,
was in times past called the *Muse of Athens.*

Amongst

Amongst the Romanes *Calligula*, *Nero*, *Domi-
tian*, *Commodus*, ruled tyrannically, with some
other Emperours, as I may say Romane Ty-
rants, vvhose horrible cruelties and execrable
crimes are recited by many good Authours, &
namely by *Tranquillius* in the liues of the twelue
Cæsars, by *Sextus Aurelius*, *Eutropius* & *Orosius*:
and amongst moderne vverters, by *Raphael Vol-
teranus* in his Commentaries: *Sabelius* in his
Rapsodias: *Naucler* in his Cronographie : and others. *Dennis* of Syracusa, *Phalaris*, and such
other Tyrants haue been defamed, and so shall
remaine to all posteritie as men hatefull to God
and to the vworld, yea euен to their owne sub-
iects, vvhom they haue reason to feare, because
they keep them in fear vwithout reason. It must
needs follow, that hee vwhich is feared of many,
is hated of many, and to be assured of himselfe,
he is constrained to be alvvaies in the midst of
armed men, although their guard doth little a-
uaile him, their life alwaies hanging (as it were)
by a thred: as by a most memorable example,
Dennis whom before vvee spoke of, shewed to
Democles, vvh'en he caused a naked sword to be
placed ouer his head as he was at meat, hanging
only with one slender haire of a horse taile, as
Cicero reciteth very eloquently in the last of
his *Tusculane* questiones. Tyrants, as the Satyri-
call

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call Poetfaith , goe neuerto *Pluto* with a drie
death,that is,vvithout bloud and murder ; for
commonly,as vvee see by experience, they are
cruelly slaine.I should be ouerlong to recite the
examples of such Tyrants as haue ben murthe-
red. Whosoeuer listeth to read the Declamati-
on of *Lucian* the Greek Orator,vpon the death
of Tyrants, shall haue matter to recreate his
mind vvithall. Let it then suffice, that I shut vp
this discourse of Tyranny , vvith those vvords
that Diuine *Plato* vsed vnto *Dennis*, vwho I
haue so often spoken of , vwhen hee saw him
guarded vvith so many armed Souldiours,least
he should be slain:Wherfore(quoth *Plato*)hast
thou committed so many hainous offences, to
bethus imprisoned vvith a band of Souldiours?
The best and mostassured defence of Princes,
is the loue of their subiects. *Apollontius* sayth:
That the gold vwhich is taken by Tyranny from
a Prince his subiects, is more base then Iron, in
(as much as it is wet vvith their teares. *Artaxer-
xes* vvas of this opinion,that it rather besemeed
the Maiesty of a King, to giue, than to take;to
cloath, than to leauen naked :for, to catch and
wrest from men is the proper office of theeuers,
and not of Kings and Princes, if they vvill not
belye their name,as vve may read in *Zenophon*
his institution of *Cirus*. A good Prince ought

to be towards his people, not as a maister towards his seruants, or as a Conquerour towards the vanquished, but as a louing father towards his children, and as a good tutor ouer his pupils. And this may suffice for the declaration of this first title.

The second title conteineth the second kind of a depraued Commonweale, vwherein a fewe haue the authority and gouernment. This maner of Commonweale taketh place, vwhen as a few rich men, or of the Nobility, doe occupie the politicke gouernement, bending all their endeauours, and aiming at their owne priuate gaine and commodity, hauing no care of the common profit. These are vvoont to take part vwith their equals in Nobility and riches, fauoring them alwaies, and pressing downe & contemning the poore & baser sort. And this kind of gouernement is directly contrarie to the Commonweale of the best men, called by the Grecians Aristocratie, vwhich is of some of the best and most vertuous men, of whom choice is made, vwhereof we haue alreadie disputed. In both kinds of gouernement few haue authority, the only difference is this, that in that Commonweale vwhere *Optimati* doe beare rule, it is gouerned by iustice, and they seeke the common profit. In the other they gouerne ac-

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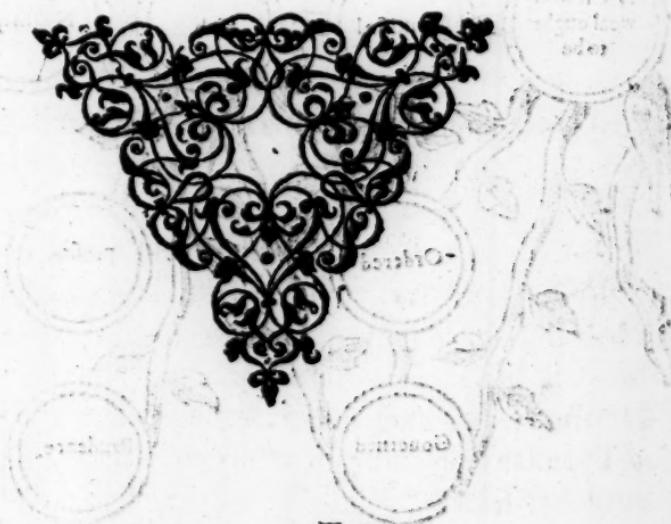
ding to their owne affections, hauing only regard to their owne abilitie and riches; and for the aduancement of their equals and fauorites. This kind of gouernement is not so much to be reprehended, nor so bad as the other going before, vwhich vwe named Tyrannie, and yet vmore worse then the power of the People, which followeth next after. And this is put betweene the extremes, as the authoritie *Optimorum* is in the tree going before.

The last kind of a depraued Commonweale is a Popular gouernement, that is, vwherein mechanicall Handicraftsmen, and men of the baser sort beare rule, not seeking the publicke profite, but either their owne priuate, or their equals. They to vvhō this gouernment is committed, are called Plebeians, vwho doe alwaies persecute such as are rich, and of noble descent, fauouring alwaies the vulgar base sort, as they diuelselves are. This sort of gouernment is directly contrary to the last described in the former tree, vwhich vwe call *Censu potestas*. This is not so bad as the rest vwe haue spoken off before, as the power of men meanely rich is of least value and vworth in the formost tree. All these kinds of politicke gouernment haue ben seene in many Citties, but in so much as they are depraued, they haue not lasted long, but

are

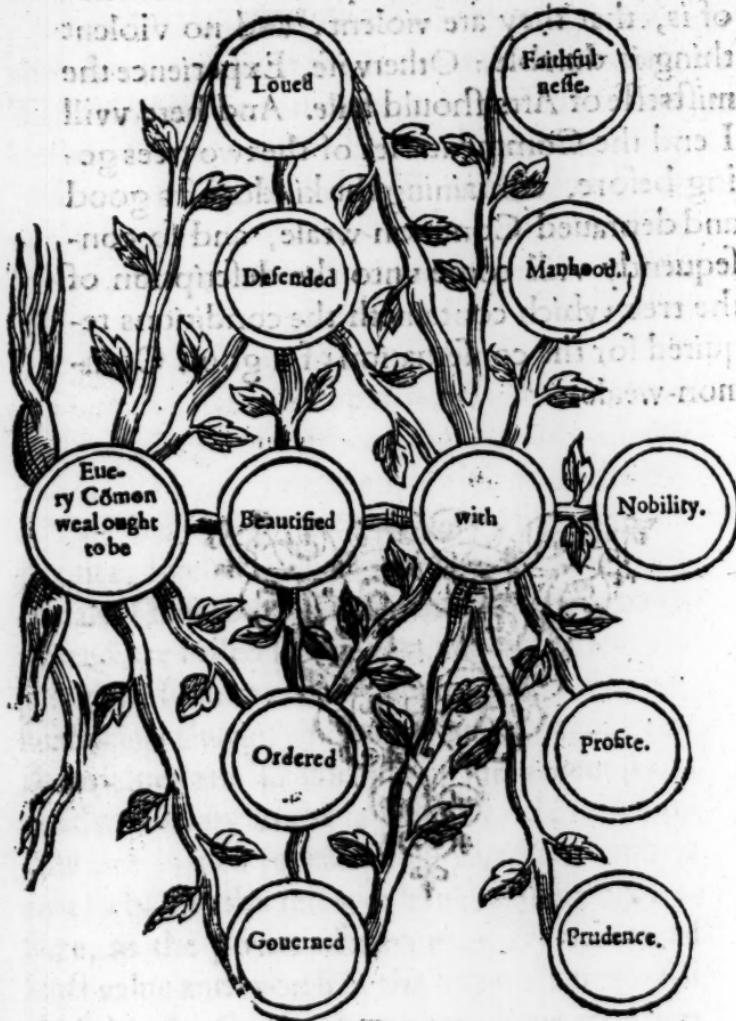
The Mirror of Policies.

are come to ruin and decay. The reason thereof is, that they are violent, and no violent thing is durable: Otherwise, Experience the mistresse of Arts should faile. And here vwill I end the Commentaries of the two trees going before, containing the kindes of a good and depraued Common-weale, and so consequently vwill come vnto the description of the tree vwhich containeth the conditions required for the conseruation of a good Common-weale.



E ii

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In this tree you may see as in a glasse all the conditions required for the conseruation and entertainment of a good Common-weale, vwithout the which, ciuill society cannot continue : in a fewe titles I haue in a breefe manner shortly declared that which hath been largely discoursed of by many worthe Authors, as wel Grecians as Romaines. And though the stile be not so pleasing, yet it may bee the methode is such as the like hath not heretofore been inuented.

Loued.

Euery Common-weale commeth to ruine, if the Cittizens through friendship are not vniited together, for if they bee factious and schismaticke, they are soone brought to decay. And concerning this matter, vve cannot alleadge an Author or example of greater authentick, then Iesus Christ himselfe, who in his Gosspell doth affirme, That euery kingdome devided in it selfe commeth to Ruine. Concord as Salust sayth, maketh small things great; and contrari-ly, discord maketh strong things vweake. The vwise man sayth, that Concord nourisheth loue. Wild beasts, as Cassidorus that learned Senator of Rome dooth affirme, doe loue the woods and forrests, Foulles the aire, Fishes the sea: and

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the thunders, and men the place of their birth: to conclude, both men and beasts doe loue the soile wherethay desire to liue long. Who so (saith Aristotle in his third booke of politicks) loueth his owne profit more then the common good, he loseth the name of a good Citizen, and purchaseth to himselfe the title of a bad & yvicked person. What shall vve say more, vve wil conclude this title vwith the saying of *Plato*, recited by *Cicerio*: We are not only borne for our selues, for a part of the Commonweale belongeth to euery Citizen, of vwhat estate or degree soeuer, but more properly and especially vnto Noblemen, who haue the government & managing of Armes, and vwho from their cradle euuen to their graue, either are, or ought to bee trained vp in the practise of them: as vws may read in *Vigetius* and *Robertus Valturarius* in their yworkers of Mariali discipline, vwhich vve will speake of more largely hereafter.

Defended.

Riches and prosperity in a Commonweale, doth stirre vp the neighbours to assaile them, to robbe and spoile them, vwhich they may easilly do, if it be not stoutly defended by the subiects: vwho defendeth his countrey, defendeth himselfe

himselfe and his owne company : And vwho so refuseth to die for the defence of the Commonwealth, he dieth togither with the ruine thereof : It is muchas the Commonwealth being ouerthrowne, the Cittizens must needs come to ruine. Wherefore we ought not to fear any danger for the safegard of our country, for it is better to perish for many, than with many. Horace following Periander sayth : It is a vorthie and honest thing to die for ones countrey. Justinian the Emperour was vuent to say, that they that vvere slaine for the defence of the Commonwealth, doe euer liue through fame. Ouid cannot find out the cause vvhence it shold proceede that vve beare such loue and extraordinary affection to the place of our birth, vvhich is so vehemently imprinted in our hearts, that vve can neuer forget it. To make short, I forbear to speake of the feruent affection which Cædias king of the Athenians did beare his countrey, who by his death b bought the life of his subiects: neither wil I make mention of that deadly draught of Buls blood vvhich Themistocles did drinke: nor of the care that Arastotle that famous Philosopher had of his countrey, euening at the point of death: nor of the feruent zeale of these Romanes Brusus the first Consull, Carrus, Decij, Elius, Scipio Africkanus, and diuerse others,

The Mirrour of Pebble.

others, vvhose renoume vwill neuer die. The
defence of the country vvhetherin a man is born,
belongeth to all sortes of people, but especi-
ally vnto Noblemen, as I vwill declare here-
after.

Beautified.

The beauty of euery Common-weale con-
sisteth in their Nobility: for commonly Noble-
men are more rich, of more honest conuersati-
on, more civile than the vulgar; mechanical &
base sort of people; in as much as from their
cradle they are brought vp in al manner of ver-
tue, and amongst men of honour. The popular
sort are commonly euill conditioned; variable,
inconstant; suspicibus, hard to be tilled; and as
Virgil saith, alwaies diuided into factious, & to
conclude their imperfections, excluded from
all good discretion and mannets. They vvhich
haue vritten of Husbandrie, doe report, that
the most daintie and pleasantest part of milke,
is the Creame; & that this it is true, Experience
teacheth, for cheeſe made of milke skimed, is
drie, ſower, and chapt. The Nobilitie at þis
were the creame of the milke of the Common-
weale, and vwho ſo taketh them away, it remai-
neth like bad cheeſe, drie, ill tasted, and ſmeltuous. Wee vwill dispute more hereof, vvhenevver

come to intreat of Armes.

Ordered.

The Philosopher saith, That vwhereas there is no order, there must needs be confusion. As the good Housholder ought to set his house in order, and the Pilot the ship, so ought a good Magistrate to order a Cittie and Commonweale : for the Communaltie vwhich by order is not brought to vnitie , by confusion is destroied. Order is the due disposing of al things: Order, as Saint Augustine saith, is a certaine disposition, giuing due places, as vwell to such as are equall, as to such as are vnequall. Saint Paul writing to the Corinthishians, commandeth them that all things be disposed by order and honestie. The order of the heauens, of times and seasons, giue vs to understand . (amongst manie other things) the wisdome of the Creator, who hath disposed all thinges diuine, celestiall, and terrestiall, by an admirable order. As in this round globe, vvee see the heauen holdeth the most high and honourable place, amongst elements the fire, gold amongst mettals, the head amongst the members of the body; likewise in euery well ordered Common-weale , men of learning, noble and vertuous men, ought to be aduaunced to the most honorable estats and offices,

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offices, &c to the wworthiest dignitieſ of a king-
dome or citie: and foolish persons, and men of
base estate ought not to haue the administration
of ſuch offices, as paſſe their capacitie.
Wine of his owne nature doth comfort the ſpi-
rites, but who ſo giueth ouermuch vnto a diſea-
ſed person, he doth but increaſe his ſickneſſe,
and maketh him wroſe. In like manner, vwhen a
King beſtoweth eſtaſes and offiſes on men of
no merite, or bad, he maketh them vvorſe, and
giueth them occaſion to doe ill, vvhileſe offollo-
weſh the ruine of the ſtate. The Venetians (as
hath been ſaid before) to giue ſome content-
ment vnto mechanicaſl handicraftſmen, and
others of base estate in their common-vveale,
leauē vnto them the execution of ſome meane
offices, ſortable to their degree and calling:
vvhich they doe to keepe them from murmu-
ring, taking example from the Romanes, the
elſeciall caſe of the Senate being, by poliſtik
and diſcreete meaneſ, to keepe the vulgar ſort
from mutinie: and notwithstanding all their
policie, they did ſeldome keepe them in order,
as is euident in *Titus Linius*, *Plutarch*, and
other approoued Authors. In bringing this to
paſſe vvhich I haue ſet downe, the citie ſhall be
well ordered vwith profit. If we enter into the
conſideration of the naure of Bees, hoyy well
they

they are ordered in their huies, if vve looke into the spinning of the spidars rwebbe, if vvee marke vwell the graines that are in a Pineapple, if vve note the members of a mans body, howv vwell they are ordered, much more ought reason to persuade and teach vs to range & bring the subiects of a good commonweale (vwho are reasonable creatures) into a decent order.
Queene Sabaa comming to visite Salomon, vondere d vwhen shee beheld the order of his court, and of his traine, his officers and seruaunts: What shall vvee say more to shut vp this tide, vwhen Job describeth a land of miserie, of calamite, and of darkenesse, he saith for a ful curse, That no Order remaineth therin. Wherfore, we may conclude, that a Kingdome, Commonweale, or citie, vwithout Order, may rightly be compared to hell.

Gouverned.

Gouvernement presupposeth Order, forasmuch as vwithout Order, there can be no due government. Gouverment, is a right dispositiōn of such things as are cōmitted to the charge of any man, to bring them to a meet end; as all the morall Philosophers and Diuines haue described it. Every Monarch, Emperour, King, Prince, Lord, Magistrate, Prelate, Judge; and

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such like may be called Gouerneours . There is necessarily required in euery Gouernour of a kingdome or commonweale, Wisdome, Patience, and Diligence : for like as a Pilot through his folly may easily be cause of shipwracke, so euery Gouernour of a commonweale or citie, may by his indiscretion be the occasion of the ouerthrow of his subiects. Euery Gouernour in like manner ought to be endued vwith patience, by the example euen of the King of the Bees, vwho hath no sting, vwherein Nature doth mystically shew, that Kings and Gouernours of commonweales ought to vse greater clemency than seuerity, and more equitie than rigour, towards their subiects : *Artaxerxes* bragged of this vertue. Besides, a Gouernour ought to bee diligent ; and if a carefull Housekeeper (vwho vwill deserue the name of a good Husband) ought in his priuate familie, to be himselfe first vp, and last in bed, howe much more diligent ought a Gouernour of a Cittie to be ; vwhere there are many houses, & a King ouer his kingdome, vwhere there are many Citties ? When the Prophet *Jonas* was overcome vwith sleepe, the Pilot rebuked him, shewing him that he shold not haue slept but waked , regarding the instant danger ; and indeed he cast him into the sea, as being vnproufitable in his shipp. This example

example drawne not from Heathen Authours, but from holy Scripture, doth mystically teach vs, that negligent Magistrats deserueth to be cast out of the gouernment of the Commonweale, and plunged in the Sea of perpetuall reproch.

Faithfulnesse.

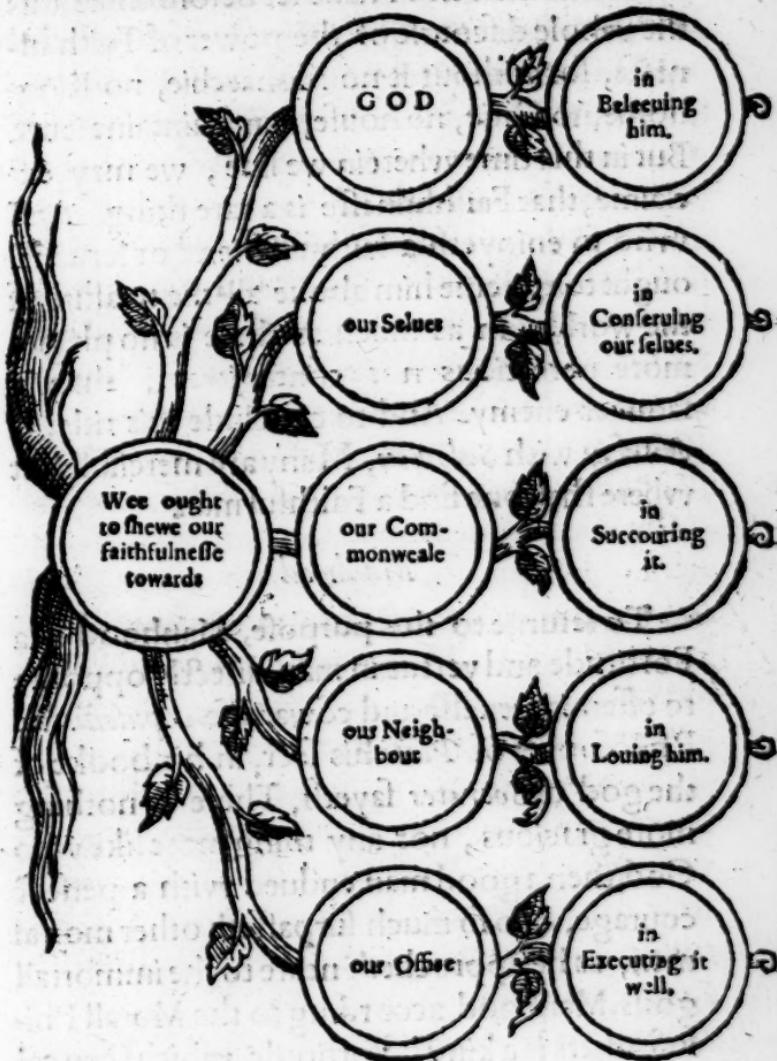
Faithfulness is directly opposite to treason, which neuer maketh entrance in a vertuous and honest mind. Faithfulness, as *Seneca* sayth, is almost holy treasure, safely laid in mans breast, vvhich cannot be constrained by any necesstie, nor corrupted by any reward, to entertaine treason. *Numa Pompilius*, the second king of the Romanes, who first ordained their ceremonies, made this decree, that vwhen sacrifice should be made to the goddesse Faithfulness, it should be done vwithout the sheading of the bloud of any beast, that is to say, vwithout slaughter, and that the Priests should be apparelled in vwhite, vwhich colour did denote purtie of heart. *Plutarch* writeth, that *Augustus Cesar* said he loued treasons, but hated Traitors. How necessary Faithfulness is for the preseruation of a Commonweale may be seene by this, that the first Temple that *Romulus* built at Rome, was the Temple of Faithfulness, and

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of the god *Terminus*. The miserable end of *A-
chitofel* that slue the valiant *Machabeus*, of *Jes-
udas Ischariotb* the false Apostle, doe evidently
shew the reward of Traitors, in recompence of
their treasons. What great hurt hath come into
Christendome by the treason of *Andrew Mer-
rail* a knight of Rhodes, by Nation a Portin-
gall, vwho stirred vp the great Turke *Soliman*,
by his letters, to assaile and take the Isle of
Rhodes, is manifest to all men. Faithfulness
then is the vprightnesse of an vnchaungeable
thought, vvhich taketh place generally amōgst
friends and enemies, rich and poore, Princes &c
subiects, maisters and seruants. There are some
especiall vertues that every man is not capable
of, but none can exempt or excuse himselfe, in
not being faithfull. Nature hath bound vs all
vnto this vertue: for Faithfulnessse is no other
thing (as hath beene saied) but an vprightnes
of thought, by the vvhich euery one is bound
to recompence friendship, to keepe close the
secrets cōmitted vnto thee, to accomplish the
thing promised, to remaine constant in speach,
and to be short:

Wee

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In this little tree I haue set before thine eies
the whole discourse of the power of Faithful-
nesse, for without it no Monarchie, no King-
dome, no Citie, no house, can maintaine it self.
But in this time vwherein we liue, we may ex-
claime, that Faithfulness is a rare thing. And
vwho so enjoyeth a faithfull friend or seruant,
ought to esteeme him aboue all the treasure of
the world, in as much as there is no plague
more pernicious nor contagious, than a
familiere enemy. And to conclude this title, I
ywill say with *Salomon*, Many are mercisfull, but
vwhere shall one find a Faithful man?

Manhood.

To returne to the purpose, Manhood is a
Fortitude and vertue in man, directly opposite
to effeminatenesse and cowardise. Apuleius the
Philosopher of *Plato* his sect, in his booke of
the god of *Socrates* sayeth, There is nothing
more gracious, nor any thing more like vnto
God, then a good man endued vwith a perfect
courage, vwho so much surpasseth other mortal
men, as he approcheth neare to the immortall
gods. Manhood, according to the Morall Phi-
losophers is a kind offortitude, vwhich they cal
Heroicall, concerning the vwhich, as vwell the
Grecians as the Barbarians, haue left vs manie
memorable

memorable examples. But especially the Romanes haue excelled and surpassed others herein, amongst whom it seemeth vnto me, *Horatius Cocles* a Romane Knight, ought to haue the preheminence, vwho seeing the extream misery and instant perill of the Common-weale, all his fellow souldiours having turned their backes, and trusting only to flight, he himselfe for the safegard thereof, set his body as a vwall against an infinite number of his enemies: And so he alone (accompañied vwith Manhood, as *Ulysses* vwith *Minerua*) fought so long against them, vntill he supposed the bridge was broken downe; as it was, and so he cast himselfe into the deepe Ritter, with his heavy armes, the zeale towards his countrey flying to the skies, & making him immortal. What a rare spectacle of Manhood was this, no lesse wonderfull to the enemies, than profitable to his friends? In our age of fresh memory, wee haue (amongst others) had a second *Horatius*, who of stounes of courage, and proweſſe of Armes, may bee equalled to him; one *Captaine Bayard*, who shewed his value in many places, namely, when he slue a Spanish Knight *Alphonſo de Soto Mayor* in ſingle combatte, who amongſt his countrmen was eſteemed as a ſecond *Hector*. He like- wife in the expedition that *Charles the eight*,

king of Fraunce made to Naples, did alone defend abtijde against two hundred Spaniards, vntill other succour came vnto him : I let passe many other of his worthy deeds, recorded by the Historiographers of our time, because I wil not be tedious. But to retorne to the Romans, what manlinesse was in *P. Decius Murena*, in the iourney and conflict against the Samnites, when as *Aulus Cornelius* a Consul of Rome, had foolishly inclosed himself in the midst of them: Did not he recover the victory, being vnholped for, and turned their desperation to assured triumph? I forbeare to speake of the good zeale that *Dreius* did shew vnto the Commonweale, when he bought the victory with the price of his life. What shall we say more? The miserable end of *S. Andromalus*, more effeminate then euer *Tchis* was, dooth plainly shew, that vwho so contrarieth his sexe, ought to die as he did, who burning himselfe in his pallace, ended both his life and Monarchie at one time, as *Plutarch* reciteth in his second booke of the vertute and fortune of *Alexander* the great. Nature was deceiued vwhen it placed manhood in the heart of *Semiramis* being a wwoman, & cowardly effeminatenesse in the heart of *Sardanapalus* being a man. *Semiramis* (albeit she was but a wwoman) led forth armies, caused the drummes

to strike vp, enigies to be dispaiied, set baile
tailes, buile Babylon, croſſed diuerſe ſeas and
countiies, and finally triumphed ouer her ene-
mies. And Sandanapaln, a man a king, did wind
thred, ſpinne yeaſe, uſed his looking glaſſe,
painted his face, and vvas ſkilfull in nothing els
but in eating, drinking, vwantonneſſe, and ſleep-
ping, and never performed any manly act in
all his life, but vwhen he burnt himſelf, by which
act he deliuereſt his ſubiects from a monſtrous
Hermophrodite, who vvas neither true man,
nor true wyoman, being in foxe a man, and in
heart a woman. b to ſtomaching and noo gride
the herte in great vaine, it workt. Abſurd as
any thing in the world, to call it nobilitie.

Nobility. More to ſchool now
We will hereafter diſpute of Nobilitie, in
the title of Noblemen, and Aſſes. vdiſc h
169. Some will ſay, it is a diſtincion of diuerſe
22. diuerſe reaſon of Proſe. ſtill this booged at a

the Marcus Tullius Cicerō the Patron of Roman
eloquence, did vvaile and lament, that ſome
through ignorance, vwent about to ſeparate
proſe from honesty, albeit that between them
there is ſuch indiſſoluble marriage and good
agreement, that there can be no ſeparation nor
diuorce betweene them. They held this op-
inion, that a thing might be profitable, and not
honest; and contrariwise, that a thing might be

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baddest and most profitable, than vvhich doctrin
nothing could be more hurtfull to the life of
man. For the whole Schoole and sect of Stoicks
doe hold, that whatsoeuer is honest, is necessa-
rily profitable: and that nothing can bee pro-
fitable, except it bee honest: and they that
vwould make a diuision betwenee profit and
honestie, doe nothing else but pervert Nature.
Lattantius Firmian, a Diuine, a Philosopher,
and a most eloquent Orator, in his Instituti-
ons doth affirme, that nothing can be profit-
able or honest, except it bee good; and that no-
thing can bee profitable or dishonest vntesse
it bee bad. Now if in any thing in this world
we looke for profit, we ought principally to
consider it in a body Politique. Aristotle saith,
That by how much a good thing is more com-
mon, by so much it is more to be esteemed. For
if it be good and laudable to order a house &
a shipp, to the profit thereof much better it
is, yea best of all to order a Commonweale for
the commodity thereof. The end of each good
ordre tendeth to profit; the end of confusion, ap-
ruine and destruction. *Ouisse* (as it is written
in the Machabees) preferred the profit of
his Countrey, before his owne life. *Curtius*
the Romane Knight, for the commodite of
his Commonweale, hated his life, and his
owne

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owne safetie, by which deed, he got immortall fame. Euery Prince that preferreth his private gaine before the common good, ought to tremble at the wordes of Saint Paul in the seconde to the Corinthians the eleuenth Chapter, whiche hee sayth: I seeke not that which is gainefull to my selfe, but that whiche is profitable to manie. Saint Hierome affirmeþ that reading Pauls Epistles, it seemed that hee heard clappes of thunder: vvhich holie and learned Doctor I alleadge, q; that it might bee apparent, that who so seeketh his owne commoditie more than the publicke profit, dooth not followe the holie Apostle.

Prudence, as Cicero sayth in his first book of Laws, takeþ her denomination of Providence, as of the principall partie of Providence (according vnto Aristotle in the sixt of his Ethics) is a right reason of such things as we undertake. Prudence is diuided into true and false. True Prudence is that vertue by the whiche we take to vs selfe, we iudge & command all thingis to be done which do appertaine & conduct the life of man vnto a good end. False Prudence is the disposition of thinges that tend to an evill

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end, as if a man shoulde bend all his study to vs
the pleasure of the flesh, to steale, and to robbe,
to enrich himselfe by fraud, subtletie, craft, and
deceit. Of this false Prudencie the Apostle spea-
keth in the eight to the Romanes, vvhenn he
saith: Wisdome of the flesh is death. Aristotle
demaundeth, vvhich is the reason vwhy young
men are not prudent, but commenly foolish,
inconsiderate, and headstrong? Wherunto the
learned Philosopher answereth, That Prudencie
presupposeth wisdome, vvhich is experience,
experience long life, vwhich young men haue
not attained vnto; for if they had lived long,
they shoulde he hold, which is the cause that yong
men cannot be prudent, in that they want ex-
perience. This vertue of Prudencie instructeth
vs to prouide for things to come, to order
things present, and to remember things past.
Xenophon the Philosopher in his instigation of
King Cyrus, saith, That vwe can haue no yse of
vertue, vwithout Prudencie: For in the admini-
stration, as vwell of priuate as publike matters,
vwe cannot attaine vnto a vvished end vwithout
the direction of Prudencie. As at sea, the Mar-
iners follow the commandement of the Pilot,
the diseased of the Phisitian, trauellers of their
guide, Souldiours of their Captaine: so ought
good subiects to follow the direction of their
Prince,

Prince, and good Citizens of their Magistrat. And as a good Citizen is bound to obey with willingnesse and readinesse, so likewise ought a good Magistrate and Prince to command prudently. Morall Philosophers gaue three eyesynto Prudence, Memory, Vnderstanding, and Prouidence; with the first it looketh to time past, with the second it beholdeth time present, and with the last it regardeth the time to come by the which it appeareth, that of all the vertues, Prudence hath the most eyes. Amongst the Romane Emperours, some are praised for Clemency, as *Iulus Cæsar*; others for Learning, and Wisdome, as *Adrian*; some for Tēperance, as *Marcus Aurelius*; some for Liberality, as *Titus*; others for Justice, as *Trajan*; *Augustus* for felicitie, *Antonius Pius* for goodnesse, but peculiarly and aboue the rest, *Alexander Severus* hath ben commended for the vertue of Prudence, which he obtained by the counsell and instruction of the learned Lawyer *Ulpian*. Philip of Macedon, father of *Alexander* the great, being in hostage three yeare at Thebes, learned Prudence of the wise prince *Epininondas*, by which vertue, he got into his hands the Monarchie of all Greece, & a great part of Asia, being before only King of Macedonia. What shall we say more? Thorow the whole discourse of Homer his *Odisses* (where

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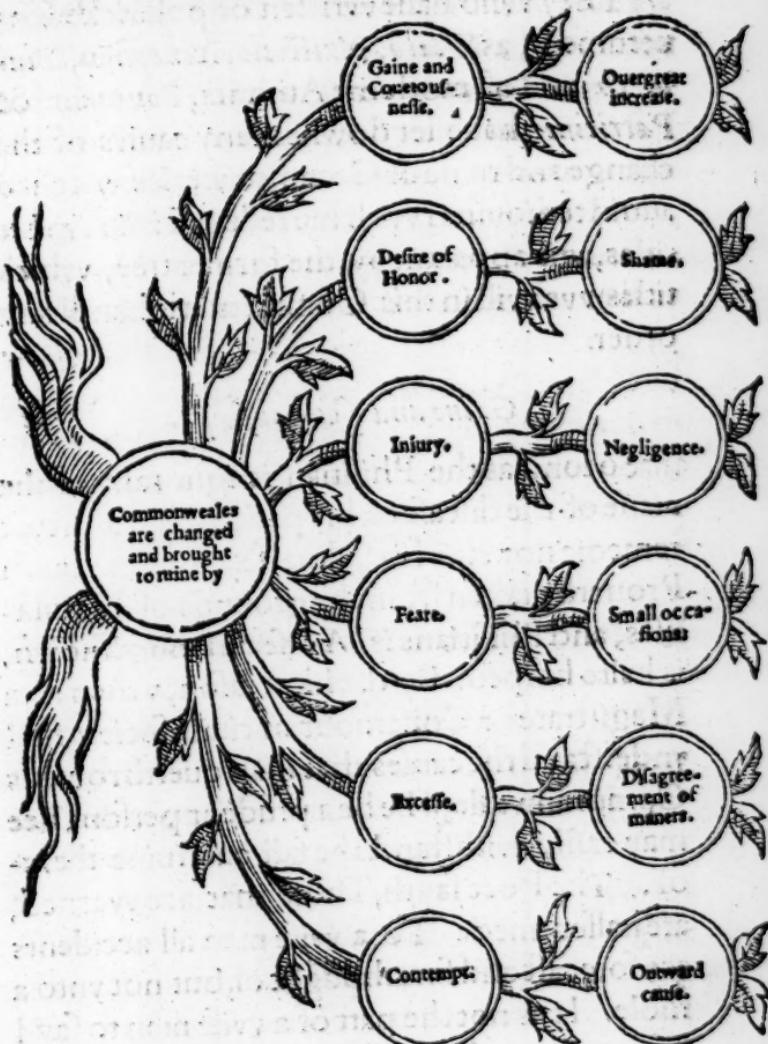
we may read the fable of *Minerva*, vwho alwaies accompanied *Klysses*) the most learned Poet tendeth to no other end, then to shew vs, that Prudence (vwhich hee figureth by *Minerua*) ought alwaies guide a man, to attaine vnto the end of his enterprise. *Bion* the Philosopher said that Prudence was amongst other vertues as the sight amongst the five sensess. Of vwhich vertue, *Jonathan Pontanus* hath written a vwhole discourse. It resteth to conclude this title, (and so consequently the ful declaration of the tree) that every Commonweale shall flourish if it be gouerned by Prudence.

A P R E E A C E V P O N T H E
Commentaries of the tree following.

WE haue before declared and shewed by a culer demonstration the causes that make a Commonweale to flourish and continue long. It resteth now to shew and to set forth vnto your view the occasions that bring it to change, to decline, and finally to ruine: which according to the former methode is set forth in the tree following.

To guild vho stoled guid, silA to mag arges wroghtTis rom yelw Hartien W. sinobes M
sithw) wylh Quid vnuH to shuolb helbwerb

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They vho haue written of polliticke Government, as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, *Plutarch*; and of moderne Authors, *Pontanus*, & *Patricius*: haue set downe many causes of the change and ruine of Commonweales, which to auoid tediousnes vve haue reduced into twelue titles, as is apparant by the former tree, vwhich titles vve vwill in this Commentarie handle by order.

Gaine and Couetousnesse.

So long as the Phisitian is ignorant of the cause of the disease of his patient, he can neuer remedie nor cure his sicknesse. The common Prouerbe taken from the grounds of Naturallists, and Phisitians is, A disease being known, is halfe holpen. By the like reason, vwhen as a Magistrate or Gouernour of ciuale society shal understand the causes that may ouerthrow his Commonweale, if he be a prudent person, hee may easily vwithstand the fall and ruine thereof. The Poet sayth, Those that are vwarned, are halfe armed. To a vvise man all accidents are forecast and forethought of, but not vnto a foole. It is not the part of a vvise man to say I had not thought it. Now it behoueth euery Prince, King, Magistrate, or Politicke Gouernour to understand, that amongst those causes which

which bring destruction and ruine vnto a cōmonweale, Gaine offereth it selfe first of all. But vwhat sort of Gaine ? Euen that, vwhen the common people, vwho of their owne nature are suspicioous, busie, and inconstant, doe perceave that the Gouernours of a Cittie are couetous, seeking to make great gaine vnto themselues, and get great wealth into their hands , which causeth them to impose vpō the common people great exactions, lones, subsidies, and other insupportable burthens, vwhich causeth their patience to turne into furie, and from a priuate and secret grudge, they come to some publick and open sedition against the Gouernors and Magistrates, not being able to indure their insatiable couetousnesse : vvhence it commeth to passe oftentimes, that they murther them, sacke and spoile their houses by force and violence. And so by such sedition, the publicke peace is disturbed, and the politicke body either changed or vtterly brought to ruin. Now, according to the saying of *Quintilian*, vwho herein followed *Seneca*, that a good Orator ought from precepts to come to examples, vve may enrich this place vvith manie testimonies, as vwell from the Grecians, Latines, as Barbarians: But to auoid tediousnesse, it may suffice to alledge some one out of the *Chronicles of Fraunce*. In the time

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of king *charles* the sixt, there happened a great mutiny of the people, altogether caused by the couerousnesse of the politicke Gouernours, especially of those vvhich vvere neare about the King, vvhich sought nothing else, then to lay newe impositions vpon the people, to make them leane, and themselues fat, to steale from others to fill their owne purses: but the people oppoised themselues against them, yea the tumult vvas so great, that notwithstanding all the reasons alleadged by Sir *Peter de Villiers*, and Sir *Jahn des Maretz* (vvhich vvere greatly in the peoples fauour) all the Farmers of the saied impositions vvere murthered and slaine, their goods spoiled, their evidences burned, their houses raised, and the heads of the vessells of Wine in their Sellers knocked in pieces, and the Wine let out. And one of the saied Farmers flying to Saint *James* his Church, vvhich standeth in the Butcherie, to sauie his life, was slaine hard by the high Altar, holding the Image of our Ladie in his handes. The day vwherein the slaughter vvas made, vvas called the day of Hammers, in regard of certaine leaden Hammers the people tooke in the Towne house, vvhich they committed their slaughter.

ter. In the time of *Lewis* the ninth, called *Saint Lewis*, the common people of ffeue Townes or Countries of Germanie, vvhich vhee nowe call *Swytzers*, did mutinie in so great number, and raise such sedition, that they did slay all the Princes, Lordes, Barrons, Knights, and to bee short, all they that had anie title of honour or gentrie in that Countrey : vvhich vwas done, in regard that the sayed Princes and Nobilitie did oppresse them vwith greeuous and uniusit exactions. And the better to assure their libertie, they made an alliance and confederatiōn amongst themselues, vvhich they calld *Brotherhood*, and at this day they terme The ancient leagues of the high *Almaignes*. And in this sort the estate of their Common-vveale vwas chaunged, through the Tyrannie of their Princes, so that euen till this present, they liue in libertie. Moreover, it appeareth by the example of *Iobel* and *Abia* the sonnes of *Samuel*, that Common-vveales are altered through the covetousnesse of Magistrates: For they being Judges ouer all the people of *Israell*, their covetousnesse, exaction, and taxes vpon the people, vwas the cause that the Politicke
of Israell was turned into a gouver-

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gouernment of the Hebrues was changed: For the people being oppressed through their insatiable couetousnesse, they demanded of *Samuel* that they might haue a king, vvhich he graunted them: so that in stead of Judges, they liued vnder Principality, as vve may see in the first booke of kings. What shall I say more? If couetousnesse be reprooud as a damnable vice in all sorts of people, shal it not be much more condemned in a Prince, a king, or politicke Gouvernement? *Aristotle* in his Ethicke detesteth Auarice in all men, but in politicke Gouernors aboue all others. In men of meane estate, the Philosophers haue commended the vertue, vvhich the Latines cal Parsimonie, and we tearem Sparing, especially in those that haue many children, and small store of wealth, (which we see commonly happen.) But in a Royall State, and in an opulent Common-weale, Parsimonie is reprooud. For in as much as their fortune is great and mighty, so much the rather is it required, that they shew their liberalitie and magnificencie. I vvill neuer commend in men of honour this niggardly sparing, which in poore housekeepers (in regard of their povertie) is to be born withall: *Sergius Galba* who succeeded *Nero*, vvas vworthily reprooued, in that he vwas not onely ouer-sparing of his own reuenues,

reuenues, but most couetous of the publicke treasure. Who vwould not discommend the niggardliness of *Didius Iulius*, vwho being a man of great vwealth, if any one had bestowed a hare, a pigge, or some such like present on him, he vwould haue made three or four meales therewith ; and many times hee fed on nothing but Beanes or Cabbidge. What shall vve say more? *Pertinax* being aduaunced to the degree of Emperour , did not yet forget his niggardliness , but parted Lettice and Artichaux in two, that the one halfe might be for his dinner, and the other halfe reserued for his supper. Is it not a great reproch for a prince exalted to high honour, & to possesse large territories, to haue so straight a heart, to liue in miserable pouertie, to the end he may die rich? If any man vwould obiect vnto me the Parsimony of *Fabricius*, I answere, that the age vwherein he liued, ought to excuse him, in the vwhich all magnificence was vknownne amongst the Romanes. But to returne to our purpose. *Iouius Pontanus* in his booke of Liberalitie, doth vwrite, that a Cardinall named *Angelot*, vvas so couetous, that by a false dore he descended into the stable, and euerie night stole away the oates vwhich his Horse-keepers had giuen his horses, vwhich custome he continued so long, till at the last one of his horse-

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Horsekeepers hiding himselfe in the stable, did so belabour him vwith a pitchforke, that he had much adoe to craule away. Contrarily, *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, Emperour of Rome, vwho for his great humanity and Liberality was surnamed *Deliciae generis humani*, considering that his father had beeне defamed for his great couetousnesse, determined by his Liberality to blot out the bad report his father had gotten: He vvas vvoont to say, that a man ought not to goe vwith a sad countenance before a prince his face. Euery euening before he vvent to bed he remembred vwhat he had done the day past, and calling to mind one nighr, that the day before he had bestowed nothing vpon any man, hee fetched a deepe sigh, saying to those that vvere by, Alas, my friends, I haue lost this day: meaning that that day vvas lost, vwherein hee had not shewed his Liberality. What vwords of a Prince vvere these? What a Royall mind? What bountifulnesse. *Alexander* the great being reprehended by some about him, because he gaue a great and rich City vnto a poor man that begged almes of him, and the poore soule himselfe saying vnto him, that so great and rich a gift did not belong vnto him: *Alexander* made answere, Albeit it is not fit for thee to receaue so great a gift, yet it becommeth mee vwell to giue

glueit: For in bestowing a city on thee, I regar-
ded not thy beggerie, but my Royaltie: What
care I though such a gift be not to be received
of thee, seeing it is agreeable to my estate to
bestow it: *Seneca* in his booke of Benefiting,
reprooueth such gifts, howbeit he praiseth the li-
berall mind of Princes. The great King *Anti-
gonus* incurred the name of couetous, in cauiling
vwith a poore man, vwho demanded of him
a Talent of gold, vwhich is vworth sixe hundred
French Crownes, to vvhom he made this an-
swere, that such a reward vvas too much to bee
giuen to a begger: The poor man then deman-
ded a dramme of him, which is worth a groat,
to vvhom *Antigonus* answered, that such a gift
vwas too little to bee giuen by a King. For the
vwhich he vvas vworthily reprooued, in that as a
king he might haue giuen a Talent, and ought
not to haue refused to haue giuen him a dram,
he being a poore man. Further, Liberality and
bountifullnesse are vertues peculiarily proper to
a Prince, King, or cheefe Magistrat, as *Aristo-
tle* saith in his Ethickes. And if they ought to
ye liberalitie to all sorts of people, they ought
principally to be bountiful to men of learning,
according to the example of *Ptolomy* King of
Egypt, vwho had a great number of learned
men in his court, to whom he gaue great pensi-

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sions. *Alexander* the great, vvhose death as *Plutarch* saith, vwas happie to the Romanes, had in a manner as great a company of learned men in his armie, as vvarriors. The Emperors *Antony* and *Marcus Aurelius* (surnamed the Philosopher) were very liberall to al me of knowledge. *Dennis* the Tyrant of Siracusa, gaue a Talent of gold vnto *Helicon* the Cyzienien, in recompence of his skill in prognosticating the eclipse of the sunne. *Lysander* in reward of a few verses, gaue vnto the Poet *Antiochus* his hat full of siluer. King *Alphonso* gaue a thousand Duccats to his Secretary *Antony Panormit*, for the setting forth of a Chronicle of his vworthy acts: He gaue likewise ffe hundred Duccats to *Pogio* of Florence for translating out of Greeke into Latine *Xenophon* his *Cyropedia*, albeit that *Frauncis Philelphus* had translated it before. I vwould that the Princes of thistime, and those that are to come hereafter, vwould take exāple by these I haue alledged, amongst whom I may vworthily put king *Francis* king of France, vwho surpassed all his predecessours in liberality tovwards men of learning, to whom I may likewise ioine *Cosmo de Medicis* Duke of Florence for his great liberality towards *Marsilius Ficinus* and other men of knowledge, as appeareth by the mention the said *Ficinus* maketh

keth of him in his vworkes.

Desire of honor.

The second occasion vwhich causeth alteration and ruine of Commonweales, is a greedy thirsting, and desire of Honour : for thereby many times great trouble and sedition is mooued amongst Cittizens, vvhich happens vwhen they that are honoured vwith offices and publicke charges, doe enuie such as doe gouerne, taking the matter ill that others are preferred before them. This coueting of Honour vwas the cause of great trouble and alteration in the Common-weale of Rome, chaunging it from Aristocracie into Tyrannie, and the gouernmēt of one alone : vvhich happened, vwhen as *Iulius Cæsar* scorning a superior, and *Pompey* stomacking to haue any equall to himselfe, did both striue for the principality; stirring vp those horrible and fearefull ciuill vvarres, vvhich brought the Romanes liberty to ruine, vntill both the Tyrants were slaine. The same ambition kindled the like ciuile vvarres betweene *Scilla* and *Marius* vwith such extremity, that the streetes and places of Rome, did runne vwith the blood of the Citizens.

and English book by **H. f.** **Inury.**

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Iniury.

The third cause of the change & ouerthrow
of kingdomes, is Iniury: vvhich happeneth,
vwhen as they that doe beare principall autho-
rity in the Commonweale, through ouermuch
insolence and pride, doe iniury, vvrong, & op-
pression vnto the subiects, by reason vwhereof
the common people doe mutinie and moue se-
dition, and so do bring change and ruin in the
estate, vwhich the wise man dooth signifie to vs
in Ecclesiastes saying, One kiingdome is trans-
ported from one Nation to another for the
iustice, iniuries, and wrongs of the superiors: as
we may read by the example of *Cirus* the great,
vvhō in respect of the iniury done vnto him by
Astiages his grandfather, causing him to be ex-
posed imediately after his birth, rebelled against
him, overcame him in battell, and as a conque-
ror transported the kingdome from the Medes
vnto the Persians. If examples of the Heathenis
are not sufficient, let vs come vnto the holy
Scripture: *Robram* the sonne of *Salamon* for an
inious and threatening answer which he gaue
vnto his subiects, he chaged his riches into po-
uerity: For of twelue Tribes, he deseruedly lost
tenne, vwhich vvere for euer separated frō those
two which only remained vnder his obedience.

By

By that vwhich I haue said it appeareth, how In-
jury doth chaunge and ouerthrow the estate of
Commonyeales.

Feare.

The fourth cause of the mutation and ruine
of a Commonveale is Feare. And that is when
as some that are criminal, culpable, and conuic-
ted of some capitall crimes, for feare of punish-
ment vwhich hangeth ouer their head, doe moue
sedition in the City, and rebell against the Ma-
gistrates, by whom by right they ought to be
punished, and so they seeking to preuent their
future punishment, to the end, they may not in-
curre the penalty their offences doe merit, they
forceably cast the Magistrats from the admini-
stration of their charge, and so change the Go-
uernment. As for example, the Noblemen did
in the Commonweale of the Rhodians, vwho
rose against the people for feare of the punish-
ment prepared for them, as Aristotle reciteth in
the third Chapter of his fist booke of Poli-
tiques.

Excesse.

The fist cause is Excesse: vwhen as some one
Cittizen by excellency of vertue, abundance of
wealth, or magnanimitie of heart, dooth newly

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begin to rule ouer others, and hold a Monarchy, seeing that other Citizens are not able to resist him : For abundance and riches are alwaies accompanied with the fauor of the common people, vwho doe esteeme the possession of riches to be the only soueraigne good, albeit the troth is otherwyse. But it is as hard to nostrish fire in vwater, as to find good iudgement amongst the common sort. By this meanes, the Communalties of Italy doe often change their Commonyeales, they being naturally enclined to diuision through partialities, so that they are neuer in peace : For no sooner forraine vvars do cease, but ciuile and domesticall broiles do torment them. The example of that vwhich I haue spokē of, vwas practised in the Commonvveale of Florence, during the time of *Cosmo de Medicis*, vwho did not onely deserue the onely principality ouer that Commonvveale, but a farre greater Monarchy, he vwas so throughly accompanied vwith vertue and learning, to the vwhich his perfections, riches did giue a greater shew and ornament.

Contempſ.

The fixt cause is Contempt : & that happeneth vwhen as some Citizens are despised, and excluded from offices and publicke charges,
and

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and when as in a city dignities are not bestowed indifferently, for thē they vwhich are contemned, do mutiny and rise against those who haue the politicke gouernment : and by that meanes the Estate is changed, as appeareth by the example of Thebes, and of Megara, vwhen they vvere ouercome through the euil gouernment of the cheefe rulers and Magistrates. So the like happened to the Common-veale of Siracusa, before that Gelo vsurped Tyranny ouer them: the like also did befall the Rhodians. The Venetians take good order to remedy this inconuenience : For albeit that the common sorte be excluded from all estates and offices of honour in their commonweale, and haue no authority therein, yet to give them some contentment, and to take away from them occasion of mutinie, they bestow vpon some of them some base and meane office, vwhich they doe with great discretiō, for a man of base estate accounteth it a credite for him to beare office in the commonweale, how vile soever it bee. Contempt vvas in times past cause at Rome of great seditions, yea such, that they had vwelligh ouerthrowne the whole Estate. What sedition did the people moue, when as the Senat & the Nobility held them in such disdaine, that they could not aspire to the dignity of Consulship,

nor

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nor Dictatorship, nor any other title of honor whatsoever, in the Gouvernement of the Commonweale. The most part of the seditions and rebellions at Rome, happened in this respect, that the people held themselves as contemned and excluded from all publicke charges, and from alliance and mariage vwith Noble men: vwhereupon they vvere forced to content and appease their fury, to graunt them their Tribunes, as we may read in the first Decade of *Titus Liuius*, and in *Plutarke* in the life of *Coriolanus*. After the death of King *Charles* the seueth of that name, a Prince of his naturall inclination, gentle, louing, and meeke, succeeded his eldest sonne *Lewis* the eleuenth, a Prince naturally contraryto his father, for he vvas bitter, vehement, suspiciois, of a stirring wit, and hard to serue, as much as any Prince in the world, as *Philip de Comines* reporteth of him, vwho setteth him forthliuely in his colours, vwhich he might vwell doe, being one of his most familiuer seruants : This King immediately after the coronation (vpon vwhat humour, is vnowne) did as it vvere banish from the Court, as vwell the Princes of blood, as the other Lords, and determined to serue himselfe vwith men of meane estate, and almost of no account, but base companions, imagining (as some presume) hee should

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should draw better seruice from them, and be better obeied by them, then of men extracted of noble parentage . Amongst the rest of his seruaunts vvhō vvere most aduanced by him, was one *Doyac*, and *Oliver Deere* his harbour, vvhō abased himselfe to that vild office , that vvhith his tongue he licked the blood from his Hemeroides. The Princes and Lords of France seeing thēselues to be contemned in such sort, they gathered an army together , encamped themselues neere to Paris, and offered the king battel, vvhō made head against thē, though to his losse: the battle vwas giuen at a place called Montlhery the 27 of Iulie 1465, the place giuing name to the day. This contempt put the king in hazard to loose both his Estate and his life, if by great prudence & policy he had not appeased the fury and vvrath of the said Princes and Nobility. This notable example ought to be imprinted in the memory of all Princes and politicke Gouernors, that they may therby learne to keepe themselues from despising their subiects, least they incurre the like danger which king *Lewis* did, vvhō after the said sedition became more vwise & prudent then before: for the remainder of his life, he vwas a Lyon in force, and a Foxe in counsell.

Ouergreat increase.

The feuenth cause is , vwhen as some one part of a Commonweale doth besides a due and requisite proportion increase more then the rest. And this happeneth vwhen some of the Citizens doe become richer then others , or haue an extraordinary aduantage in honor and profite. For that side that is poorer, and not in that dignity, may perhaps exceed in number, as in euery Common-vveale it is ordinarily seene, that for one rich man, there are an hundred poore, vwho trusting to their multitude, do mooue mutiny against the rich , vwho are the smaller number : by vwhich meanes often-times the State is changed, yea sometimes vtterly ouerthrovne . As vve see that the body of man ought naturally to haue a due proportion in the members thereof, so likewise there ought to be (as much as it is possible) in the politicke body the like proportion, as vwell in honour as in riches to auoid sedition . If any man had a nose exceeding in greatnessse the bignesse of his foot, he should be held for a monstre and out of fashion : in like manner, vwhen as some one of the Citizens do excell the rest in riches more than is fit in due proportion, the politick body becommeth monstrous, and so cannot

long

long continue vwithout danger of tumult, and consequently vwithout chaunge or ruine. To auoid sedition, vwhich might arise amongst the Citizens, and to remedy the same in some Cities in Greece, & namely in Athens, Ostracisme vvas inuented, vwhich vwas banishment for ten yeares, against such as did exceed either in riches, credit, or fauour, and that vwas done by the voice of the people. For vwhen they saw some one amongst them to surpass the rest in vwealth and substance, they feared that through their excessiue riches and fauour they might conuert the popular liberty into Tiranny. To the preuenting vwhereof, they assembled themselves together, and by most voices declared Ostracisme against them, so that they vyere cōstrained to depart & forsake the city for the space of ten years as banished men: Albeit they vvere not culpable of any publicke or priuate crime, but very honest men. For the only suspition that they might aspire vnto the Tirannie, caused them to be banished. *Thrasibulus* Duke of the Athenians, seeing some Citizens in his Common-vveale to surpass others in riches and fauour, and fearing as it falleth out manie times, that it might be some cause for them the rather to attempt the usurpation of Tirannie, he sent a messenger vnto the Philosopher *Peri-*

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ander(vwho vvas accounted one of the seuen
sages of Greece) to aske his counsel and aduise
in a doubtfull matter: *Persander* aduertised by
the messenger, of *Thrasibus* intent, answered
him neither by vword nor vwriting(fearing per-
haps some reuenge) but onely by signes,lea-
ding the messenger into a field of Wheat, rea-
die to be cut downe, and before him cut off the
heads of corne that vvere higher then the rest;
meaning thereby, that *Thrasibus* ought to
take from amongst the rest of the Cittizens
those that did so farre excell the rest, and by
that meanes bring the City to equality. Now,
it is not only conuenient in a Common-vveale
that some citizens be not permitted to exceed
others in riches, and the rest left poor, but there
ought likevwise regard to be had , that all the
stately and sumptuous building be not in one
place, but if it may be, equally dispersed throgh
euery street; to the end, that one place be not
made populous, and the rest of the City left
desolate. This mutation in a Common-vveale
happenneth sometimes by the hazard of For-
tune: as it chanced in times past to those of Ta-
rent, vwho lost all their Nobilitie in a battaile
against the Iapigeniens (vwhich vwas shortly
after that the Medes madewar against Greece)
their Common-vveale being chaunged into a
popular

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popular gouernment . The Argues after the ouerthrow of their men, by Cleomenes of Sparta, vvere constrained to receaue straungers into their Commonweale in stead of their citizens. The like happened in Athens, vwhen as their Nobilitie vvas almost vtterly ouerthrowne and slaine by the Lacedemonians.

Shame.

The eight cause is Shame, and that happens vwhen as vwithout anie tumult or sedition, the Citizens by a common consent do change the ancient forme of gouernment by some shamefull euill vwhich is happened vnto them, hoping thereby to reform it, as for example: If in a Cōmonweale the custome vvere to chuse officers by election, and that it so fell out, that through the ambition, fauour, and couetousnes of some few Citizens, such vvere chosen to beare rule, as vvere vnvorthie, and not capable of such dignity; and for very shame thereof, the Cittizens should make decrees and orders, that afterwards the Magistrates should be chosen by lot & not by election, now such chāge should proceed from shame. In like manner shame was the cause of the alteration of the Cōmonweale of the Iewes in the time of *Samuel*, his sonne falling frcm the vertue and integrity of his fa-

L ij ther,

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ther, becomming a corrupt iudge. They being ashamed to depriue him from the estate of a Judge (fearing least they should by that means make his father pensiue and sad, vwho vwas a man of admirable holinesse) the people determined by a common consent to chaunge the forme of their Commonyveale, that in stead of Judges they might haue Kings, vwhich vwas graunted them by *Samuel*, and by the commandement of *G O D Saule* vwas annoyncted the first king of the Iewes; as appeareth in the eight chapter of the first booke of kings. The like mutation happened in the Commonyveale of Herea, vwhere they vvere vwoont to create their Magistrates by election, vwhich vwhen they saw was done by fauour, and that the most vnworthie vvere chosen, as it vvere vwith shame, they chaunged their election into Lots.

Negligence.

The ninth cause is Negligence, & that happeneth vwhen as the cittizens are so negligent, that they let them haue the gouernment of the city, vwho loue not the present State: and so it falleth out oftentimes, that vwhen such see thēselues placed in supreme dignitie and authoritiē, they take boldnesse vpon them to chaunge

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the politike gouernment into that forme that is most pleasing vnto them , and sortable to their affections: vwhich vvas brought to passe in the commonweale of the Hereans , vwhich was gouerned by the power of a few. But whē as *Heracleodorus* was chosen their Magistrate, he gaue the attempt, and chaunged their auncient politicke estate from the power of a few, to a Popular gouernment.

Small occasions.

The tenth cause is Small occasions, and that happeneth vwhen either by dissembling , or otherwise, some small thing is taken either frō the Law, or from the politicke State. The com-mon Prouerbe is, That from one small thing we come to another, and many a little, make a great ; and so by little and little the authority of the State, or of the law is diminished : which they durst not haue done altogether, least it should be a matter too euident: as for example, there are some, who if you giue them an inch of liberty, they will take an ell, and by tract of time yse it altogether, which may be prooued by a naturall example. We see that a lingering ague doth at the first so little trouble the patient, that he scasely can discerne that he is sick, but being let runne, and no remedy applied thereto

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thereto in time it draweth to the feuer Ecticke. This small diminishing by succession, caused in time past the ruine of the Ambraciotes, who from a little came to nothing.

Disagreement of manners.

The eleuenth cause is disagreement of manners. And that happeneth when as the parts of a City are vnequall, and vwhen as the one (to vvit, the inferiour part) vwill needs bee equall vwith the superiour, seeking either to surmount it, or excell it. For example, it hath ben often scene, that vwhen as strangers haue ben receaued in a Commonweale, they increased in such sort, that they did reuolt against the Cittizens. This feare Pharoah vvas possessed vwithal, who seeing the Hebrewes (straungers in his Countrey) multiplie so mightily, that they vvere in a manner as strong as the Agyptians, he caused it to bee proclaimed, that the male children of the Hebrues should bee slaine as they vvere borne: vwhich he did to this end, because they increased (as he thought) ouermuch. Disagreement vvas the cause of a great sedition at Rome, and because that the histories and Romane Chronicles doe make mention thereof, as a matter very memorable, I will set downe one example. When as the common people of

Rome

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Rome did perceiue, that none but the Noble Senatours, and such as were descended from them (vwhich they call *Patrij* of this Latine wword *Pater*) ywere aduanced to the administration of politicke gouernment, and that they ywere depriued from any publicke charge and office, they arose against the Senators and the Nobility vwith such fury, that he that vvas indued vwith most constancie amongst them, did tremble. And indeed the people had recourse to armes, vwhich (as the Poet saith) Fury put into their hands, and so they incamped in the mountaine called *Mons sacer* beyond the flood Anien, three miles distant from Rome. The Senators and Nobility were in great perplexite and perill, and the vyhole state of the Romane Empire, if any enemy had then presently assailed them. The Senate to appease the people, sent out *Menenius*, to persuade vwith the, which opened vnto them the Apology of the rest of the members against the belly : by the vywhich comparison he appeased the fury of the people & caused the to return to the city, cōditionally that they should afterwards haue their peculiar officers chosen from amongst them, vwhich they called the Tribunes of the people.

The twelvth occasion is *Outward cause*, and

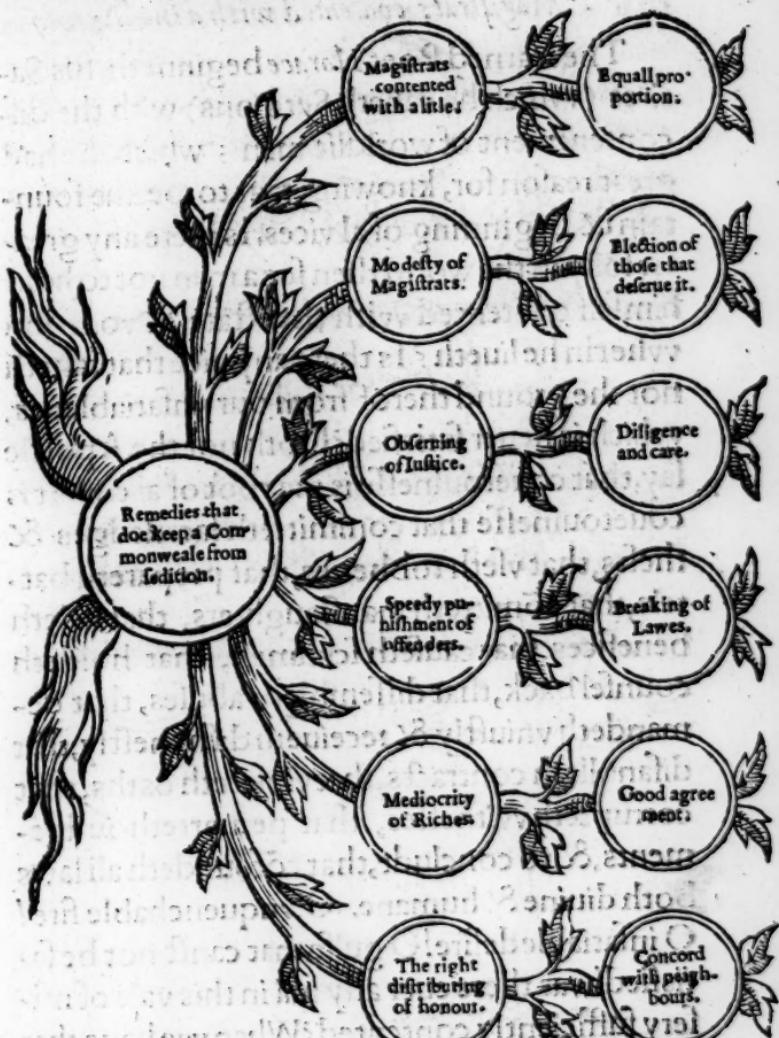
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that

that is, when as a city or commonweale, either
neare, or faire off, is an enemy vnto another:
Especially vvhē one is more rich, more strong,
and more mighty then the other: the that which
is the weakest & the meanest, is cōmonly op-
pressed by the strongest, & so is either made
the same vwith the other, or vtterly brought to
ruini: as we do read that many cities and Com-
monweales were changed by the Romanes,
when as by force of Armes they did well nigh
bring the vwhole vworld vnder their yoke: and
hauing conquered Asia, Macedonia, Iudea,
and Egipt, they reduced them into provinces.
Likewise, the Kingdome of Israell was ouer-
thrown by the Assyrians, and the kingdome of
Iuda by the Babylonians; both the which were
brought vnder their subiection, and the people
led captiue. To conclude this Commentarie,
we will say that sedition of the people, is the
most extreame of all others, and doth soonest
subiect a Commonweale.

Now in as much as we ought to cure diseas-
ses by their opposite remedies, it behoueth vs
now to come vnto the twelue remedies which
do contradict the former causes, and are a let
and hinderance to seditions, & the ouerthrow
of states, as may appeare by the tree and Com-
mentaries following.

The Mirrour of Policie.



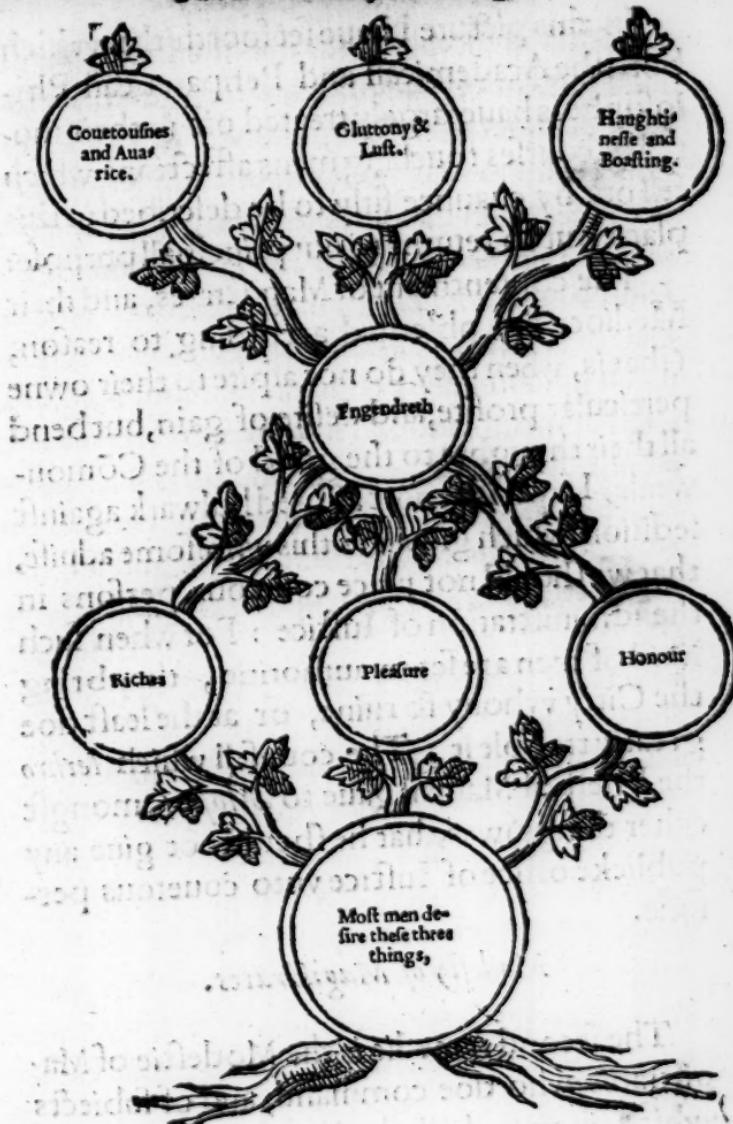
Magis-

Magistrars contented with a little.

The learned Poet Horace beginneth his Satires (vwhich he calleth Sermons) with the discontentment of worldlie men ; which he had great reason for, knowing that to be the fountain & beginning of al vices. Is there any greater folly in the world then for a man not to hold himself contented wwith the estate & vocation vherin he liueth ? Is there any vice that taketh not the ground therof from our vnsatiablenes, vwhich is never satisfied? Doth not the Apostle say, that couetousnesse is the root of al euil? It is couetousnesse that committeth sacrileges & thefts, that vseth robberies, that prepareth battels, that cōmitteth manslaughters, that selleth benefices, that causeth schismes , that holdeth counsel back, that dissembleth abuses, that demandeth vniustly & receiueth dishonestly, that disanulleth contracts, that violateth oaths, that corrupteth witneses, that peruertereth iudgements, & to conclude, that cōfoundeth all laws both diuine & humane. O vnquenchable fire!

O insatiable desire! O gulfe that canst not be satisfied! was there ever any mā in this vale of misery sufficiently contented? When vve haue that vve vvish for, then vve desire more. We never li- mit any end in that vwhich vve haue, but rather in that vve seeke after: For (as the Poet saith) by how much riches abound, by so much is the loue and desire of monie increased.

The Mirour of 'Policie.'



In this picture I haue set foorth that which both the Academicall and Peripateticall Philosophers haue largely treated off in their mōrall discourses touching mens affections, which fell out by chaunce fitly to be described in this place. But to returne to our principall purpose:

The contentment of Magistrates, and their Mediocritie, obserued according to reason, (that is, when they do not aspire to their owne perticular profit, and desire of gain, but bend all their thoughts to the good of the Cōmonweale) I say it is a most assured bulwark against sedition: which giueth vs this wholsome aduise, that we shoule not place couetous persons in the administration of Iustice : For when such kind of men are set in authoritie , they bring the City vvholy to ruine, or at the least doe greatly trouble it . The counsell which *Iethro* the Priest of Madian gaue to *Moses*(amongst other things) was, that he shoule not giue any publicke office of Iustice vnto couetous persons.

Modestie of Magistrates.

The second remedie is the Modestie of Magistrates vwho doe command, and of subiects vwhich obey, vwhich shall be rightly obserued vwhen as euerie one in their degree do content them.

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themselfes in their estate, vwithout ambition to aspire to higher degrees of honour then their capacity vwil beare: Wherein is to be noted, that euery one in his calling ought to consider what he is able to doe. *Horace* in his Art of Poetrie, exhorteth Poets not to vndertake any wworke aboue the reach of their vnderstanding, which exhortation ought to stretch to al sorts of people. Moreouer, in as much as (according to the Prouerbe) euerie man ought to looke further then his feet; if anie Citizen doe go about by vndue meanes to aspire vnto any publicke ofice, he ought to be banished from the Cittie, as a plague, or pestilence, yea as a pestiferous poison.

Obseruing of Justice.

The third remedie is the obseruing of Iustice, and the seueritie thereof. For of necessity in euery Commonweale, it behoueth for the well gouerning thereof (according vnto the doctrine of *Solon*) to punish the wicked, and reward the good; expell and vtterly root out vices, honour and recompence vertue. The wicked are punished, to the end, that innocencie may be preserued betweene good men: Good men are rewarded, to the end, that the hope of recompence might further encourage them

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them, to the exercise of vertue, which both the Grecians and the Romanes likewise diligently obserued, erecting publickely to the view of all the world the Images of vertuous men. The vse of setting vp of Images to vertuous men, as well at Rome, as elsewhere was left off in the declining Estate of the Empire, which began in the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. And one of the reasons thereof was, that in the beginning of the primitiue church many Christians that vvere men of authority, in zeal to the faith, caused many auncient Images at Rome to be beaten downe as Relickes of the ancient Idolatrie of the Heathens, and did forbid the erecting of anie other. And from that time the vse of Escuchons and Armory vvas found out, as a vvitnessse of their Nobility and vertue, vwhich amongst the Christian Nobility vve vse euē at this day ; inriching their shields vvith mettals and combers, blasoning the according to that vwhich they containe. And as learned *Buda* reciteth, the Armories vwe vse at this present, succeeded the auncient Images, albeit they vvere farre more magnificent , and shewed greater vworkmanship then our Escuchons, vwhich vve vse as an honour and revward of vertue. Now vve ought not only to vse seuerity of Iustice against such citizens as offend, but euē against
the

the Magistrats theselues, vvhē they abuse their estate and dignity. For whē they perceiue the Magistrates theselues when they offend, to be rigorously punished for their offences, as priuate persons, they indure their own punishment with patience. And this ought wel to be waighed, that as in a mans face a little mole or wart is more apparent then a great skar in the body, so vices (though they be but small) are sooner seen in Princes and Magistrats, then great faults in men of meane estate.

Speedy punishment of offenders.

The fourth remedy is, Speedy punishment of offenders without delay: for knowing that for their wickednes & mischiefe they are daily apprehended, examined, that witness(es) are brought against the face to face, that they are tormented, condemned, & according to their demerites executed (if before the execution through the negligence of Magistrats they haue any time & re-spit) thinking to saue their liues and escape punishment (whervnto their conscience condemneth them as guilty) they moue sedition in the Commonweale, & as men dispairing of their liues, they do their best to saue theselues: which they could neuer attempt, if after their condeming they were speedily executed.

such clutis vnde faci, et malis faci, ut pali sit
Mediocrity of goods.

The first remedy is Mediocrity of the goods of the Citizens: according vnto the whiche, we ought to haue regard vnto euery mans calling, whereby order ought to be taken, that there be no excelle, or ouermuch exceeding in power, or riches. And if it happen that any subiect come to such ouergreat fauour, credite, power, or riches, that he may therby attempt the usurpation of Tyrannie in the Commonweale; he ought betimes to be banished, and by that meanes the publicke liberty shal be preserued, all excelle being taken away. Which aristophanes did wisely teach, when as in his Tragedy he raised Pericles from Hell, exhorting the Magistrates and politike Gouvernours not to nourish a Lion in their cities. For if they bring him vp vvhē he is little, they must of necessity obey him vvhē he is growne greater. By this similitude he gaue them to understand, that the yong children of Noblemen, and of rich parentage, ought to be checked, and their insolencies corrected, vwhile they are as yong Lions; otherwise, they wwill prooue intollerable when they come to age, and vve must be forced to obey him as the Lion vvhē he is great, vwho of necessity we must suffer. It is great folly not to in-

dure the forces vwhich vve our selues haue no
rished. Moreouer, Medioerity was wont to be
so much esteemed, that the learned Poet Ha-
race calleth it golden: For as gold doth surpass all
other mettals in estimation, so doth Medio-
critie all other things in assurance; as contrarily
exesse is vnassured, and in danger to be sha-
ken. Mediocricie holdeth the middest between
exesse and want, and the meane is that
vwhich taketh part of the two extremes. Ari-
stotle in his fourth booke of the Polickes, saith:
That by how much any thing is farte off from
the middest, by so much is it worse; and by how
much it approcheth thereunto, so much the
better it is. The Greeke Epigram saith, That
whosoever eateth ouermuch honie, that vwhich
is ouermuch (albeit be yong yf yee) conuer-
teth into most bitter choller; vnderstanding
thereby, that as all that is inough is good, so all
that is ouermuch is bad. Bacchus said, That the
Northernewind is too cold, and the Southbeare
wind too hot, but the Westerne vwind is tem-
perate. And indeed it is that wind that clotheth
the earth, and the rest being either too hot or
too cold, doe make it naked. What shall we
say more? All the Grecian, Arabian, and Latine
Phisitions, doe all wth a common consent
hold this, that the health of mans bodie confi-

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Health in mediocrity, harmlesse, and temperature
of humors and qualities; and sicknesse procee-
deth of excesse. Phœbus admonished Phæeton,
and Dædalus his sonne Icarus to keep a meane,
which they did not; and so it turned to their
destruction: for the one was burned, and the
other drowned. It resteth to conclude this title,
that Mediocrity is necessary for the conserva-
tion of a Commonwealth, yea of all other things
whatsoever.

The fift remedy is, The right distributing
of honor and dignitie. For they which do mer-
ite to be honoured and aduanced by their ver-
tue vnto publicke offices, ought (without all
doubt) to be preferred before others. And contra-
ry, they which are vnworthie to be promoted
to such honor, in regard of their vices ought al-
together to be excluded from anie office or digni-
tie in the Commonwealth, as infected &c for-
ren sheepe ought to be excluded from the whole
and found. When being obserued, no vertuous
Citizen will think himselfe to be despised; &
the vicious shall haue no cause to complaine,
that he is not called to any office, when he shall
know that his owne vice is cause thereof. For (as
the Satyricall Poet saith) The sting of a mans
owne

owne conscience, is the first judge of every one. Horace in one of his Epistles saith : That to be innocent of crime, & to feele that a man is free from offence, is a brasen & impregnable towre to every one. For innocency giveth great assur-
rance to the innocent. And contrarily, when a man in his owne conscience is guiltie, he is al-
ways in feare to be punished for his offence. Moreover, Kings and Princes ought aboue all
things to be carefull, that they put not cou-
tous men, & such as haue a large conscience in
publick offices & authority, if they intend not
to make shepheards of yvilles. Vespasian was
much noted, that in the beginning of his reign
he gaue the greatest dignities of Rome vnto
the greatest theues he could find in the Com-
monweale: and when he was asked the occa-
sion why he did so, seeing that authoritie gi-
ueth occasion vnto the ywcked to become
yworse, he answyered, that he serued his tyme
with such officers, as with sponges, which
when they had drunke in as much moisture as
they could, he woulde wryng them dry: meaning
to take from them both their goods & their life.
This policy in a Prince (to say the trouth) was
worth little, for Vespasian himself was the theef,
which vice he was infected vithall through
faintnesse of heart, & a seculsonature, desirous to
enrich

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enrich his cofers, by the theft of his owne officiers; and I : diuers Biagi Heide upon meare
and chayre in easch place of the earth, am to impon
Equall proportion.

The seventh remedie is Equall proportion. By the vwhich Mediocritie & reason being obserued, one part of the Commonweale is not suffered to exceed & increase ouermuch aboue the rest, which being obserued, the Commonweale vwill remaine whole, and entire, & without any denision. As by a naturall example vve may perceiue: We see that mans body is vwell disposed, and in health, and exerciseth duly his naturall offices, when onke humour, or quality doth not exceed another: For (as I haue said before) superfluity causeth diseases; & good proportion and equality of qualities and humors, occasioneth health. Besides there are two sorts of equality, to wit, of quantity, and of proportion. Equality of quantity, is required in justice commutatiue, to the ond, that esterlie one may take as much as he ought. Equality of proportion is to be vfed in respect of reuward. Moreover, proportion is taken two kind of waies, the one according to the imposition of the name thereof, and so it is the habitude of one quantity to another, according to the excesse determined, or made equall. Another way it is

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ooke[n] to signifie the habitude of euery thing,
as for example, of the matter to the forme, of
the power to the act, of that vwhich is finite to
that vwhich is infinite , of the creature to the
Creator.

Election of those that deserue it.

The eight remedie is, Election of those that deserue it. In every Commonweale we ought to be very prudent in the choise of Magistrats, which (as Plato saith) are in the Commonweale, as the eies in mans bodie . And as the bodie cannot guide it selfe without eies (which are the Organickall instruments of sight) so a politicke bodie cannot be gouerned without Magistrates, vwhich (if they be such as they ought) doe cause a City to flourish: And contrarily, if they be euill they bring it to ruine. Iethro counselled Moyes to chuse such Magistrates and Judges ouer the people of Israell, as vvere men tried and approoued to hate couetousnes (as hath ben said before.) Such as are Magistrates ought to thinke vpon the threatening of the Apostle, saying, Desire not to haue authoritie ouer others, for they vwhich beare rule, doe drawe great iudgement vpon them-selues. Besides, euerie Magistrate ought to be true in word, iust in judgement , in counsell

cleare

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dear fighted, in his office faithful, cōstant in his behavior, in his going graue, in his looks mild, towards the vvicked seuere, towards the good gentle and gracious, and to be short, he ought to be the example and mirror of all vertue. And in as much as (according to the saying of *Socrates*) the people doe giue more credite to their eies, then to their eares, that is, For as much as they doe beleue rather that vwhich they see, then that vwhich they heare; and the vway to instruct the common sort by precepts is long, & by example verie short, and of great efficacie: It behoueth him rather to be carefull of that which he doth, then that vwhich he saith, because the people take greater heed to that vwhich is done, then that vwhich is said. And whatsoeuer the Magistrat saith, whether it be good or bad, the people ground their opinion vpon his actions: vwherefore he ought to imagine, that he is to them as the white to the arrovie, vwhereat they all do aime.

Diligence and care.

The ninth remedie is care and diligence, to make choice of such for Magistrates and principall officers, vwho do loue that kind of Commonwealth vherein they liue ; and not those that seek to alter it: vwhich they vwill endeuour

to effect vwhen they are placed in authoritie. As for example, if the Senate had not chosen *Silla* to be Dictator, he had not made that butcherie and massacre of Citizens as hee did at Rome making the office perpetuall, vwhereas by the auncient custome it vvas vvoid to last but sixe months. Likewise, if *Julius Cesar* had not ben chosen to goe against the Gaules, and the Senate had not vndiscreetly giuen him that great authoritie, he had not changed the Commonweale as he did, from an Aristocratie to a Monarchie (or rather to a Tyrannie) supressing as vwell the authoritie of the Senate, as the libertie of the people, vwhich many good men seeking to defend, they were most cruellic slaine and banished.

Breaking of Lawes.

The tenth remedie is, Breaking of lawes. Which is to be vnderstood, vwhen the Magistrates are carefull, not to dissemble, vwhen any subiect dooth indeuour to breake the Lawes: Which at the beginning is not done altogether, forthen the matter should be too apparant, but by little and little, to the end it may not be perceived. And if this be dissembled or tollerated by the Magistrates, it sheweth greater,

and commeth to infringe openly and vholly
the law, vvhich is the sound and firme founda-
tion of euery Commothevle; and that failing,
the politike building commeth to ruine. Ar-
istotle in the eight Chapter of the fist booke of
his Politickes, teaching vs how to preserue a
Commonweale, saith : In euery well ordered
societie vwell settled by good Lawes, vve ought
to take great heede, that vve doe not change the
least point in them, and to haue great care, that
no alteration at all be made , vwhich it behoo-
ueth vs to look ynto at the first: For if resistāce
be not made at the beginning, it happeneth as
vve see fall out in a mans bodie, vwhere if at the
first speedy remedie be not giuen to many di-
seases, they become in the end incurable. The
Apostle vwriting to the Colossians , hath so
much exalted the law, that he called it the bond
of perfection. Saint Augustine vwriting to Ma-
cedonius saith: That Princely power, the Ma-
istrate condemning, the hangman executing,
the secular arme strengthening, the master co-
manding, the father correcting, are not ordai-
ned in vaine; for euerie one of these haue their
proper causes, their reasons, and their profite.
When euerie one of them are feared, the vvi-
cked are chastised, and the good liue in assu-
gance amongst them ; that after the Lawe is
bbo once

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once established and approued; vve ought not to judge it, but live according vnto it. To be short, the Law in a Citie is as the soule in a bodie: and like as the bodie without the soule, commeth to ruine, even so the Commonweale vwithout the Law, is soone brought to destruction.

Good agreement.

The eleuenth remedie is, Good agreement: And that is, vwhen as to parts that are unlike, they doe bestow such office as fitteth belongeth thereto, taking away all occasion of discord, vwhich might happen by reason of disagreement. A Commonweale cannot be established without such parts as are unlike: For some are Priests, othes Magistrates, some Noblemen, othes Burgesses, some Merchantants, some Artificers, some Labouring men, whid are all unlike in their exercise and trade of life: as likewise vwe seeme mans bodie is framed of unlike members, for the eie resembleth not the hand, nor the hand the foot, nor the foot the head; and like as they are different in forme, so are they likewise distinct in office: For the hand toucheth, the eie seeth, the foot walketh, and so of the rest. And albeit that the said members

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are vnlikely i[n] forme and office, yet are they all reduced to one harmony, and do agree in such sort together, that the one doth not ysurpe the office which is by nature destinate to another. For as these doth no entermeddle wth touching, nor the hand vvhich seeing, so likewise in a politicke body the dissimilitude of the parts thereof breedeth good agreement, vvhen euer[y] part thereof doth exercise the office belonging vnto it selfe, vwithout medling vwith anothers calling; as vvhen the Priests are vsed about Ceremonies and Religion, Noblemen about Armes, Artificers about Handicrafts, &c, every one employing himselfe about his owne office, not intruding himselfe into anothers vocation, the Commonwealth shall agree in perfect harmony: Notwithstanding the dissimilitude of the parts therof, it shall be at quiet. But if the Priests go about to exercise Armes, and the Noblemen sacrifices, the Commonwealth would come to confusion and vtter ruine, as it would happen vnto the body of man, if one member should vnderake anothers office.

Concord with Neighbours. Lusteth to lese no man's liberty, all violence
The twelfth and last remedy to withstand
civile commotions is, Concord vvhich Neigh-

hours. For life may be accounted as no life, if it be not in peace and tranquillity. And albeit it is good and praiseworthy to be in league and friendship vwith those that are faire of yea with all men; yet notwithstanding, it is more necessary to be at good agreement with ones neighbours, vwho at all times may either help or hinder. To which purpose, the common Proverbe saith, That who so hath a good neighbour, hath a good morrow. *Hesiodus*, a most ancient Greeke Poet in his booke of daies and works, esteemeth a good neighbour to be the soueraigne good both in the Country, and in the City. Now every good politicke Gouvernour ought to endenour all that in him lyeth, to vvin the fauour and grace of those Commonweales that are neare unto him, in regard of the great good that may come thereof, and the harme that may happen by the contrary. For examples herein, the Etolians and the Acarnanians vvere such mortall enemies, that they vvere the ouerthrow the one of the other. The like whereof fell out betweene the Carthaginians and the Biotians. *Virgil* complaines greatly of the discord betweene those of Mantua where he vva: borne, and of Cremona. *Plutarch* reciteth, that *Themistocles* desiring to sell a farme of his, caused a common crier to pub-

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lish the goodnessse and fertility thereof, and amongst other commodities, that there were good and quiet neighbors about it, esteeming that the good neighbourhood would cause it to be sold at a higher rate. To conclude this title, I exhort the Magistrates of all Cities to purchase the grace and fauour of other Townes, especially of their neighbours, and that being gotten, to entertaine them in peace and concord, vwhich as an inheritance Jesus Christ left here below to those that are his.



In
In originalis etiam tamquam ordine
ad quatuor nominum subdicio quidam
dicitur.

In as much, gentle Reader, as the most pernicious plague that may befall any politicke body, is sedition and mutiny among Citizens, (for the eschewing whereof we haue strained the sinewes of our weake and feeble skil to comment upon the former trees) also that the Platonical Commonweale (whiche Plato attributeth to Socrates) did minister matter of sedition in regard of the community of goods, wiues, and children, more then any other; we haue hereinto inserted this whiche followeth.

A Confutation of Platons Commonweale, who therein ordained, that among fellow Citizens, both goods, wiues, and children should be common, and that no man should haue any thing proper or particular. Also of the sect of the Nicholaites, who in the primitive church reviued the said error: As likewise, euē in our daies (I cannot conceiue by what diuelish instigation) some haue endeououred also to

raise

raise again the said error of Plato, concerning
the cōmunication of temporall goods, vviues,
and children. And albeit Aristotle in the se-
cond of his Commonweale hath no lessc lea-
rnedly then eloquently confuted the said error,
yet some (to vvhom all publicke tranquillity is
odious) doe seeke by sundry reasons (more ap-
parant then forcible) to approue, That among
Christians nothing ought to be proper or pri-
uate, but that among them, both goods vviues
and children ought to be common; to the end,
the rather too root out all humane affections,
vvhich are more vehement in the behalfe of
vviues and children, then of any other thing;
likewyse, that no commonweale can be of any
continuance, vnlesse the citizens affections be
rooted out; vvhich can neuer be done, so long
as vviues, children, and goods, bee priuate and
particular. This error is of no smal importance,
for were it not especially aboue all other errors
suppreſſed, it could not but stirre vp Popular
ſedition, and breed the ſubuersion of every cō-
monweale. Now, among all other principles
that confute this error, this is one: As the law-
full diuision of goods, and the forme of marri-
age be the ordinance of God (as it is euident)
likewyſe, that Gods ordinance may not by any
humane counſell be altered or changed; ſo it
followeth,

followeth that the diuision, as vwell of goods, as of vviues and children, is immutable, and consequently the community of goods, wiues, and children, is a matter directly repugnant to the ordinance of God, and consequently reproueable. Such as take the vpholding of gouernments to be the sole wyorde of man, are greatly deceiued, for of necessity they are to beleue that the same proceedeth from the diuine counsel & prouidence, without the which neither the round frame of the vworld, neither any city can possibly continue.

Moreover, Aristotle in the place aboue mentioned proueth the community of goods, vviues and childrē, to be repugnant to nature, and consequently neither receiueable, neither tollerable, and so proued by Experience, the mother of knowledge. Neither can vve finde by any credible Authour, Iew, Grecian, Latinist, or Barbarian, that this politicke institution of Plato, vvas euer by any Nation accepted, (I meane as concerning community of vviues or children) neither vwas there euer such a Commonweale (as Plato in his conceit forged in the name of Socrates) put in practise, but vwas rather imaginatiue then reall; as by similitude the like vwe may say of the same Commonweale vwhich Sir Thomas More describeth in

his Vtopia. Againe, vvere goods common, we
should thereof reape many inconueniences,
among the rest, vve should see an infinite mul-
titude of idle and slothfull vretches born into
the vworld, as Horace saith, only to deceiue and
vvaast the goods of the earth vwithout labor, feed
and cloth themselues vwith the goods of those
that vwith the sweat of their brownes and vexa-
tion of mind, do daily get their liuings, vwhilest
the said idle drones vwould looke to be fed and
clothed out of the common purse; contrary to
all laws both of God and man, vwhich do com-
mand vs in the syneat of our brownes, that vs, in
the labour of our bodies, to eat our bread. The
kingly Prophet crieth out, saying, Thou shalt
eat the labors of thy hands, O vwell is thee, and
happy shalt thou be. S. Paul a vessele of election,
vwas not ashamed to say, that in preaching the
gospell he had not ben chargeable or trouble-
some to any: For vwhat soeuer was needfull for
the sustentation of him and his family, hee had
earned it vwith the labor of his hands, as vwe may
see in the Acts of the Apostles. Likevwise, vvere
vwomen and children common, we should find
inaumetale inconueniences in the Common-
weal, among many vwhich vwould be too long
to be spoken of, this shold not be the least, co-
sidering that nature brings forth both men and
vwomen,

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wome, some fairer then other some, according to the saying of Homer concerning Achille and Thersites; every man for the satisfying of his lusts, wwould seize vpon the fairest, euē by the instinct of nature, wwhich doth incline vs thereunto, wwhereof wwould ensue sedition, batterie, and murder, wwith the disturbance of all publike tranquility, which disturbance subuerteth all ciuile society. For (as Salust saith) by concord small things doe increase and grow great; but by discord great thinges are diminished and brought to naught. Besides, vvere wviues common and vncertaine, the children of them begotten must also be vncertaine, and so wwould no man take care to feed, cloth, or bring them vp in any discipline or art, either liberal or mechanicall. The reason, no man could thinke those children to be of his owne begetting, neither could any man beare any assured fatherly affection to an vncertaine child. Besides, vvere not naturall reason sufficient to confute this error, yet is it confuted by the wword of God in these wwords: Man shall forsake father and mother, and cleave to his wvife. This wword doth note a particular property, wwhich is repugnat to all community. For that wwhich is mine, is not another mans, and that wwhich is another mans, is not mine. Againe, as wwell in the Deca-

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logue, as in the Gospel, Adulterie is forbiddē; but in common vwomen there cannot properly be any Adulterie: For adulterie is vwhere one man doth carnally know another mans wvife, but where women are common, they belong not rather to one then to another. Moreouer, the law of God, as also the Gospell, doe command vs to obey our superiors and Magistrats, but it is vwell knowne, that Princes and Magistrates doe allow particularity of goods, wiues, and children. It doth therefore follow, that cōmunitie of goods, wviues, and childrn, is contrarie to the ordinance of God, for the holy decree saith, God deliuereþ to mankind all humane Lawes, by Emperors and rulers of the vworld. But vwhat need vve any further proofes, Almighty God by his commandement in the Decalogue, forbiddeth the robbing of our neighbour; according to which commaundement euery man is to be cōtent with that which is his own. God then in the same words approueth the particular propriety of goods, so long as they be lawfully gotten. Were goods as cōmon to one as to another, there could bee no theft, sith euery man hath a share or interest, & no man can steale that is his owne. For theft is the purloining of that vwhich is another mans, against the owners wil. For farther cōfirmation

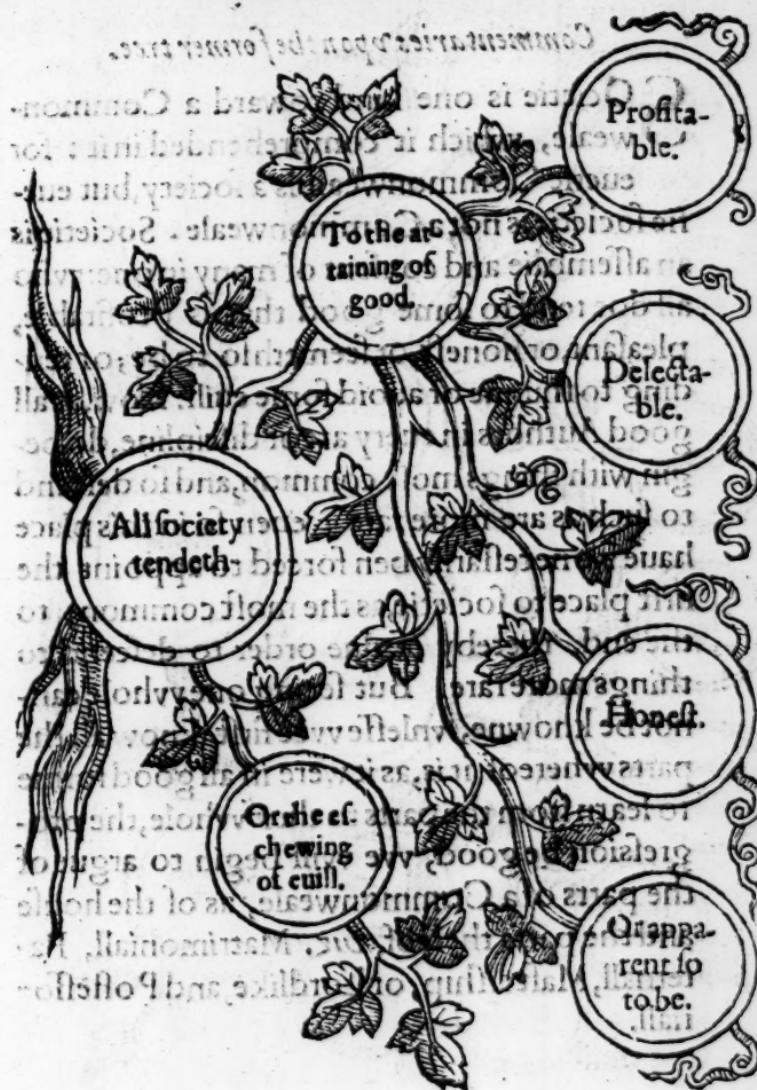
of our words : The land of promise y^e was diuided to the children of Israell, Gods chosen people by his owne commandement, and to euerie tribe was his portion limited, and every one enioyned to be contented w^t his owne bounds and limits; as appeareth in the book of *Iosua*. God therefore doth approue propriety of goods, and reproueth communitie of the same. Had it been Gods will that his people should haue liued in community of goods, vviues, and children (according to Platos Commonweale) he would never haue commanded the holy land to be diuided, neither haue caused any perticular distribution to haue beeene made to the twelue Tribes. This error was raised in the Apostles time by an Arch hereticke, called Nicholas of Antioch, y^e who taught, that among Christians, both goods, vviues, & children ought to be common: He, to set others an example, imparted his vwife to all that list, albeit she were both yong and faire: but that error did the Apostles condemne, and the sectaries therof were termed Nicholaites, of the name of their founder, called Nicholas. Of these Nicholaites doe the Apostles make mention, vwhere we may plainly read, that God commended the Angell for hating the Nicholaites. Now, to end this matter, these disturbers of common-

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tranquillity ought to be rooted out, as rotte members out of every politick body. For in seeking to innouate the course of mans life, so manie ages observed, they tend only to stir vp sedition in cities, to make subjects revolt from their princes, and to incense the rude and mutinous commonalty against Magistrates; neither doe they alioe at any other matter. The Orator Demosthenes reporteth, that the Locrians observed one law, whiche importeth, that if any Citizen of the said Commonwealth intended to bring in any law, coming to propound it publickly to the people, he must come with a halter about his necke, to the end that if the people could not admit his new law, he might presently be strangled in recompence of his presumption. This rigour was decreed, to the end to prevent the alteration of their laws & course of life, for that every alteration endangereth the state of the Commonwealth. Herodotus saith, That he is a mad man that will seek to alter the laws, and to change his course of life. The Wise man in his Ecclesiasticus saith, The adder shall sting him that breaketh the hedge; which the doctors doe expound to concerne those that seek to dissolve ancient lawes and customes.

unwolt considerib[le] est quia ad illum Anglorum
nomines lo audiuntib[us] stolidi, qui cum eis bus-
tano

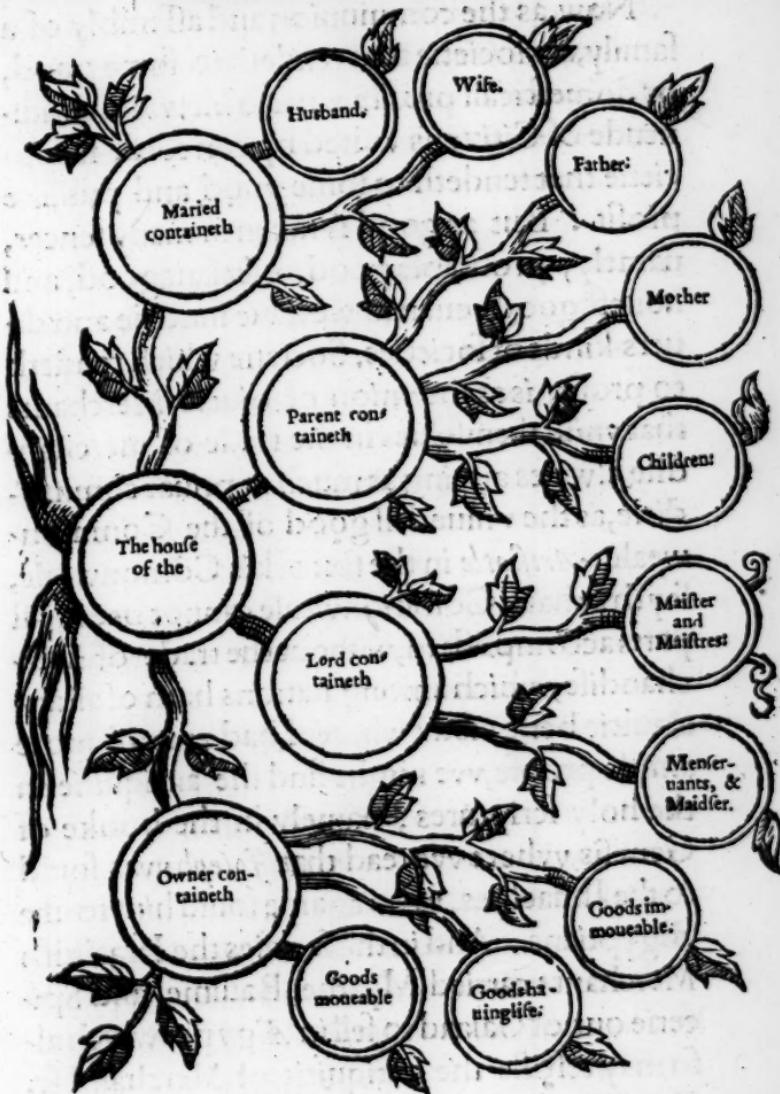
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Commentaries vpon the former tree.

Societie is one kind toward a Commonweale, which it comprehended in it : for euerie Commonweale is a society, but euerie societie is not a Commonweale. Societie is an assemblie and consent of many in one: vwho all doe tend to some good that is profitable, pleasant, or honest, or seemeth so to be; often tending to shunne or auoid some euill. Now, as all good Authors in every art or discipline, do begin with things most common, and so descend to such as are more rare; even so in this place haue we necessarily ben forced to appoint the first place to societie, as the most common; to the end, thereby in due order to descend to things more rare. But seeing one vhole can not be knowne, vnlesse vve first know all the parts whereof it is, as it were in all good forme to learn from the parts to their vhole, the progression be good, vve will begin to argue of the parts of a Commonweale, as of the house and the parts thereof, viz. Matrimoniall, Paternall, Mastership, or Lordlike, and Possessio-
nall.

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Naw, as the communion and assembly of a family, is a societie that tendeth to some good, or domesticall profite, euen so likevise a multitude of Citizens vntited by concord, is a societie that tendeth to some good and publike profit . But as good is taken in many sences, namely, profitable good, pleasant good, and honest good ; euen so we haue sundrie and diuers kinds of societies. Societie which tendeth to profit, is as the vnion of diuers Merchants that vnite themselues in the trade of merchandise, alwaies aiming as much at priuat commoditie, as the vniuersall good of the Commonweale. Aristotle in the sixt of his Cōmonweale, sayth, that a Commonweale cannot bee in all parts accomplished, without the trade of Merchandise, vwhich among nations hath of all antiquitie bene vsed : whereof, had vve not more ample proofe, vve might find the antiquitie in the holy scriptures , namely in the booke of Genesis, vwhere vve read that Joseph vvas sould to the Ismaelites, vwho againe sould him to the Ægyptians . And in those daies the Israelitish Merchants carried Myrrhe, Baulme, and Spicerie out of Galaad to sell in Ægypt : which also may testifie the antiquitie of Merchandise. Our French Gentrie vwoulde thinke it a dishonour to their Nobilitie to deale vyth the trade

of merchandise, as accounting it to bee a base exercise: but the Italian Nobilitie can make vse of it, as also can the kings of Portugal, vwho by their trade of merchandise haue discouered vnto vs sundrie Regiones vñknown to the auntient Geographers, scituat ynder the Pole-Arctike, vwhich is to vs continually hidden, as vvee may read in sundry books of the Portugals voyages. Yet (as one matter drawes on another) I can not like of certaine Noblemen Gascognis, Albigensis, and Auragues (vvhose names for their honours I do conceale) that becomming merchants of graine, doe hoord it vp vntill it grow very deere, or that God send any barrenesse or famine, and then doe they pinch the poore commons at their pleasure; vwhich cannot be done vwithout a great burthen to their consciences, or the Scriptures are false, vwhich curse those that hide vp the Corne to the end to sell it deere in time of scarcitie: the vwordes are not mine, but set downe by *Salomon, Proverbs 11.* The true Societie of Merchants aimeth at the marke of commoditie as vwell priuate as publicke. That Societie vwhich tendeth to delight & pleasure, is the assemblie of sundrie young louers among themselues, to the end vwith more facilitie to enioy their carnall pleasures: as vve read in the Fables of the knights of the round

table, or rather the fooleris; for that they containe neither good iuention, nor good disposition, vwhich notwithstanding many noble personages both men and women, haue heretofore foolishly spent their time, or rather lost it in the reading of them. But as for the Societie that tendeth to honestie, it is the assemblie of many students, vwhich they make for the loue of learning and attaining to knowledge: as did in olde time sundrie Philosophers that followed the great *Appolonius Thyaneus*, a Pythagoricall Philosopher, into India to see the Bragmans and Gymnosopists, with the great Hiarcas and the table of the Sonne, as wee may see in the life of the said *Appolonius* vwritten by *Philostratus*.

The like Societie was there among certaine studious persons, Gauls and Spaniards, vwho went from their natvie countries vwith tedious iournies, towards Rome, personally to behold the Oratour and most excellent Historiographer *Titus Liuius*: in vvhom we are to note, that the only fame of a learned man could draw vnto him even out of far countries, those men vvhom the glorie and magnificence of Rome (at that time the head of the wworlde) vvas not able to bring. Good God, vwhat zeale, vwhat loue of learning, vwhat reputation of doctrine?

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What is become of those times ? vwhere is that
happie age ? Such a Societie had Pithagoras
vvith him vwhen he vwent to see at the Citie of
Memphis(vwhich in these daies vve cal Alcaire)
the Agyptian Priests and Philosophers , to
the end to learne their Religion and Ceremo-
nies . Such and the like Societie had the diuine
Philosopher Plato vwhen he departed from A-
thens to goe likewise into Agypt , and vwhen
he vwent to see Architas the Tarentine Philoso-
pher , and to trauaile through the vwhole regi-
on of Italie,in former times named the greater
Greece . The like Societie vvas amongst the
Druides,Gauliph Philosophers , vwho for their
learning vvere famous throughout the vwhole
vworld , as Julius Cæsar in his Commentaries
doth report .

Strabo in the fourth booke of his Geogra-
phie , speaking of the Druides , sayth that they
had the name to bee most Iust , yea even of
such integritie , that the decision and iudgement
of all matters of importance , and diffi-
cult affars both priuat and publike , vvere re-
ferred to them , neither vwould the Gaules at a-
ny time aduenture the hazard of any conflict
or Battaile , but by the decree and counsaile of
the sayd Druides .

In this Societie vvere there also very many
Q ij learned

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learned women, of whom the Roman emperour *Aurelian*(as *Vopiscus* in his life dooth report) did aske counsaile. These Druides did vsually sacrifice men, and in regard of that crueltie vvere they vtterly abolished and rooted out by the Emperour *Claudius*, as *Tranquillus* in his life doth set downe : howbeit *Plinie* attributeth their destruction to the Emperor *Tiberius*. But if it be vwell considered, vve shal not find any discordance or contradiction herein, for *Claudius* was also called *Tiberius*, as we may proue by the famous historiographer *Iosephus*, vwho in the prescript forme of *Claudius* Edict, nameth him *Tiberius*, saying, *Tiberius, Claudius, Caesar, Pius, Germanicus, Tribunitiæ potestatis, &c.* Of these Druides doth *Lucan* make mention in his first booke of the Pharsalian warres. But in our daies there is not in Fraunce any memorie or monument of Colledge or habitation of the said Druides, albeit by conjecture of some ruines yet remaining, diuers learned men vwoulde presume that they inhabited a place called *Dreux* in the diocese of Chartres : and to say the truth, the name of the place hath some correspondence with the name Druides. Now if the antient Gauls, into whose Monarchie the French haue happily succeeded, gaue them a name and perpetuall renowne, through
the

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the societie and colledge of the Druides, vvee
haue not lost any part thereof at this present,
but rather encreased the same : for throughout
the rest of the vworld shall ye not find such
Societies and colleges of learned men as are in
Fraunce, namely in the capitall towne and roial
citie of Paris. The most learned man Iouian
Pontane, albeit an Italian, and one vwho in re-
gard of his honourable place in the Court of
his maister the king of Naples , was an enemie
to the French nation, vwho chaléged the king-
dome, and by force of armes through the con-
quest of king Charles the eight, held it in their
possession ; could not but yeeld this commen-
dation to the French, That in Paris (the capi-
tall citie of France) there were (when he wrot
his learned books of obedience) ten thousand
students . This commendation proceeding
from the mouth of an enimie to Fraunce , can
not incur any suspition : neither are there to be
found any such Colleges for the studie of the
Laws & Decrees, as in our citie of Tholouze.
Pope Clement the fifth , in his Clementines,
tit. De Magistris, mentioneth foure famous vni-
uersities, namely Boulougne in Italie , Paris in
Fraunce, Salamanca in Spaine, and Oxford in
England: yet our Vniuersitie of Tholouze in
the exercise of the Lawes and Decrees , and in
numbe

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number of Schollers surpasseth all the rest . I
vwrite not vpon affection, neither doe I more
amplie aduow any thing, for the very euidence
of the matter is prooef sufficient.

Now to proceede in the declaration of our
tree : As there is some true good, as heretofore
vve haue prooued, so is there some good which
beareth only the likenesse of good , and is in-
deed no good ; only it beareth the shew, as ri-
ches gotten by deceipt, theft, usurie, fraud, &c.
also as such pleasures of the flesh as are not ta-
ken in mariage. Likewise as many vices cloked
and hidden vnder the shadow of vertue, as the
pilling and polling, briberie and theft, vsed by
sundrie practitioners, scriueners, sollicitors, and
other such like plagues of a Commonwealth,
vwho vnder pretence of the charges of Law, do
rob and steale. As likewise there is some good
Societie that aimeth at true and firme good , so
is there also some bad societie vwhich aimeth at
an apparent but not existent good : as vwhen
there is in the Commonweale a congregation
or monopoly of sundrie rash, headie, foolishe,
and vnskilfull yoong men: As in Rome, when
the children of the nobleſt houses gathered in-
to a societie and made a monopolie to restore
into the citie the Tarquines, vwho for their ty-
rannie together vwith the violence committed

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in the person of Lucrece , had bene banished
and deposed from the roiall dignitie , as vvee
may read in *Titus Livius* in his first Decad, and
in *Ouides Fastes*. Such and the like bad societie
had Cateline gathered at Rome, when he con-
spired against the Commonweale, and Cicero
then consull: vwhich is most eloquētly vwritten
by *Salust*, of whose vworks the iniquitie of the
time with the irruption of the Gothes, haue left
vs but two small fragments, namely the history
aforesaid, and the vvarres of Iugurth, but haue
defrauded vs of his Annals from the foundati-
on of Rome to his time : by vwhich history he
purchased the fame and honoure of the first
place among all Latine historiographers , as
Martialis in his Epigrams doth testifie . Such
and almost the like societie and Monopolie
made the noblemen and Romane senatours
against Iulius Cæsar , vnder the conducte of
Brutus and Cassius, two noble men, the chiefe
authours of the death of the said Cæsar in the
Senat house, as *Plutarch* rehearseth in the liues
of Brutus, Cassius, & Iulius Cæsar : also *Tran-
quillus* in the life of the same Cæsar . Howbeit
the authours of this societie or monopoly had
some pretence of reason, for that Cæsar had al-
tered the state , vvhich from the depositing of
their kings vntil then, had bene Aristocraticall.

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But

But vwhat doe we seeke to reuiue the Examples of bad Societies among forraigne nations, vwhen we haue as many domesticall examples to be remembered of all posteritie. Could any of the former Societies bee more pernicious than the same that vvas vwhen I vvas a young man,in this towne,vwhen Guyot the captain of the vvatch , vwith his companie that vvatched with him,hauing secret intelligence vwith other theeues that lay vwithout the towne, vnder colour of exercising his office as vwell vvithin as vwithout the towne, did kill and murther the inhabitants ? vwhich plague continued a long vwhile vknownne,as lying hidden vnder the colour of iustice , and concealedvnder the pretence of the night watch ; But God(vwho sometimes deferreth,to inflict the greater punishment)suffered their monopolie to be discouered,vwhereupon seuentene or eighteen of thē vvere executed by sundrie sorts of torments : for some vvere torne vwith burning tongues,others quartered aliue,some headed,some burned,some hanged,& one of them named Michaell the Fat,vwas condemned to bee torne in peeces vwith foure horses . The like death as Metius Suffetius the duke of the Albans suffered at Rome by the decree of Tullus king of the Romans,for his treason committed in the battaile

battaile that the said king fought vwith the Fidenates. The like death also suffered Brunchild queene of France , as our Annals doe report : this terrible execution is sildome put in practise , exceptvpon some heinous offendour. These fourre horses albeit Michaell vvas fastened vnto them, and long pulled vp and down , vver notable neuerthelesse to dismember him , so strong , firme , and massiuue vvas his bodie : vvhetherupon the horses seeming too vveake , he vvas quartered and headed , in the yeare of our Lord 1517 . Thus vwas our Commonwealth purged of this theeuish crue , and the rather by the vigilant , curious , and feruent zeale of the late of good memorie , mounstier Nicholas Bertrand , doctor of the Laws , and aduocat in that parliament , & keeper of the seals of this realm : And this I haue set downe , to the end to continue the memorie thereof , as of a matter vwhich redoundeth greatly to the honour of him and his posteritie . Who so is desirous more at large to see the proceedings against the sayd offenders , let him read the publike Annals of our citie , vwhere hee shall at large finde the whole historie in the discourse of the yeare aboue sayd .

This reprobate and euill Societie comprehēdeth also three members , directly opposite to

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the three members of a good and true societie, described in the last tree sauing one. One member of this bad societie is the same that is combined vpon some apparent good, which notwithstanding is false : such is the socitie of rufians, theeuers, pirats, false coiners, and such like, vwho thinke the course of their life to be good ; and that it is a profitable matter to rob & steale from others, notwithstanding all thef bee by all lawes both of God and man reprooued. An other member of a vvicked societie is the same that tendeth to a false delectation, as vvel in fornication and adulterie , as in eating drinking and sleeping, vwhich to the lasciuious and epicures seemeth to be good, albeit it contayneth more gaule than honie. The third member of a vvicked societie is this, When the vvicked doe assemble vnder pretence or colore of some thing that is both honest and good, to the end to make away either one or more honest men out of the commonweale , vnder pretence of some apparent but not existent honestie: such was the societie of the Rabbines, Scribes, and Phariseis at Hierusalem, vvhō vnder colour of zeale to the law of Moses, prepared the death of our redeemer Iesus Christ. These iii. kindes of a wicked societie, are the supplanders of Commonweales, vvhich I thought good to set forth

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at large, to the end all politike gouernors may
beware of them, as also that in this Mirroure no-
thing should be omitted that might necessari-
ly concerne the good gouernment of a Cittie.

Commentaries vpon the Tree last described.



The House, according to our argu-
ment, is the societie and commu-
nion of life, of the Husband & the
Wife, the maister and the seruant,
for a dayly commoditie : and this
house thus described, is simple, yet absolute &
complete, if the Children be therin contained.
The parts of the House are the Children, the
Seruants, & the Owner. Of these, some are free,
as the father, the mother, and the children : o-
thers seruants ; and in place vwhere bondage is
admitted, bondmen : but in this noble and free
kingdome vwherein bondage is vnown, the
seruants both male and female are free and not
bond, yea albeit they come out of other coun-
tries bondmen, vwhich is a course of great anti-
quitie, and said to bee one of the chiefe points
of the Salick Law established by Pharamond.
Moreouer, the parts of the House are Coniu-
gall or Matrimoniall, Paternall or of the Pa-
rent, Seigniorall or Lordly, and Possessoriall.

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The Coniugal or Matrimonial containeth the Husband and the Wife: the Paternall or Parent, containeth the Father the Mother & the Children. The Seigniorall or Lordly, the Menseruants, and the Maydservants. The Possesso-rial or owner, the Mooueables, Immooueables, and that mooue of themselues.

Now let vs proceed to the declaration of e-
very particular, according to our accustomed
method.

The Husband and the Wife.

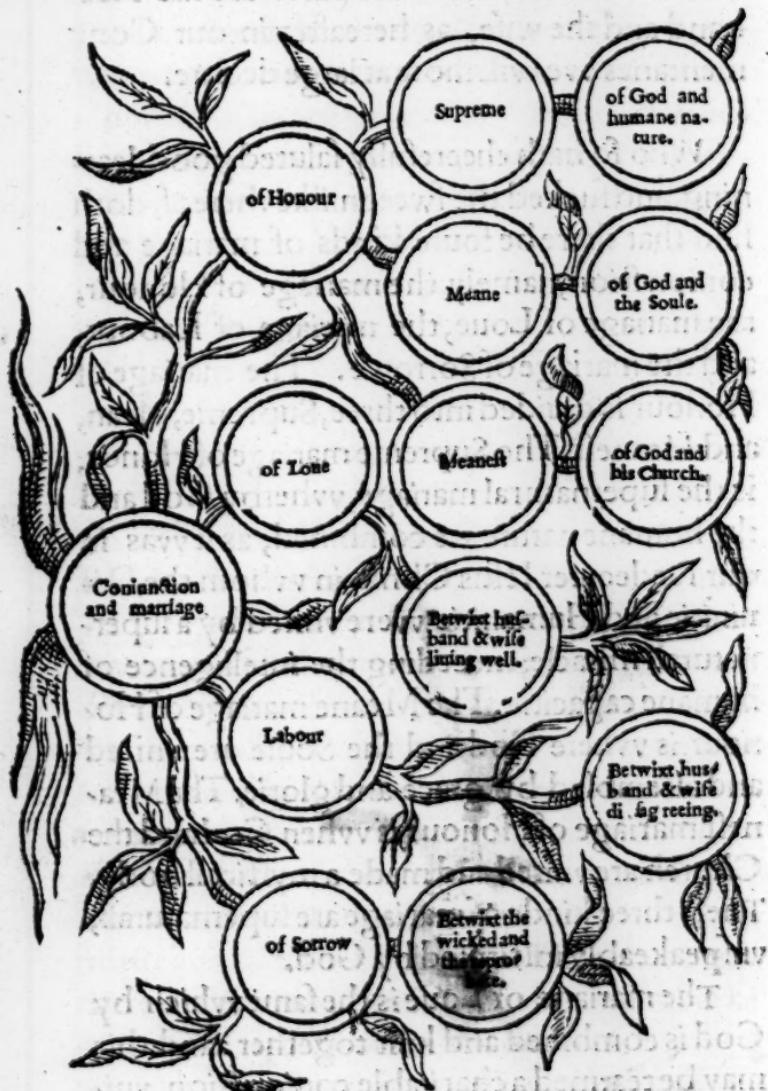
 **I**n all Disciplines, if vvee list vwell to consider it, vve find that vve beginne vwith the meanest parts thereof. Grammer taketh her beginning from the letters, thā the which there is nothing more meane or sim- ple: Logicke hath her originall from the two- least parts thereof, the Nowne and the Verbe: Geometrie hath her beginning from a point : Arithmetick taketh her originall from the V- nitie, vwhich the Greeks terme One : Musicke from the Sound and halfe sound, the least parts thereof. Why then should not vvee speaking of a ciuile Societie & a Citie, begin vwith the least parts therof, namely, the parts of a house, wher- of Cities take their essence ? But in the house and

and first societie, the least parts are the Husband and the wife, as hereafter in our Commentaries vve vvill more at large declare.

Who so hath cheerefully saluted good learning, and sucked the sweet milke thereof, doth find that there be foure kinds of mariage and conionction, namely, the mariage of Honour, the mariage of Loue, the mariage of Labour, and the mariage of Sorrowe. The mariage of Honour is diuided into three, Supreme, Mean, and Meanest. The Supreme mariage of Honor, is the supernatural mariage, vwherby God and the humane nature are combined, as it vvas in our Redeemer Iesus Christ, in vvhom the Diuinitie and Humanitie were vnited by a supernaturall miracle, exceeding the intelligence of humane capacitie. The Meane mariage of Honour, is vwhere God and the Soule are vnited and assembled by grace and glorie. The Meanest mariage of Honour is vwhen God and the Church are vnted and made a mysticall body. These three kinds of mariage are supernaturall, vnspeakeably instituted by God.

The mariage of Loue is the same which by God is combined and knit together: and this may be termed a charitable conionction, vnitie, and socicie of the good, vwhich is vvrouted by

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by grace peace and concord. Of this kind of mariage of Loue, is the mariage of an honest man and of an honest woman, such as is most necessarie for the preseruation and propagatiōn of mankinde, and consequently of euerie commonwealth. The man and wwoman thus maried are to loue reciprocally, and to make themselues one bodie and one flesh: for albeit there were no law of God or man to induce vs hereunto, euē the brute beasts vwould teache vs the wway, if vve could but leare to knowe it. Some beasts there are that by their naturall instinct doe obserue their mariages, that is, their sociall combination. *Solinus* a famous authour, and latelye digested into good order by the learned *Camerarius*, in his *Polihystorie* reporteth, that the Storkes doe in Faith obserue the fiaultie of mariage, and punish adulterie. *Genuaise* a Historiographer, in his booke of Imperiall vacations, reporteth that it hath ben seene that a stork committed adultery, and that his male taking her wwith the maner, vvenis & made his complaint to a number of his owne kinde, vwho thereupon comming all together, tare in peeces the stork that had committed the adulterie. Wherin vve are to note that the punishment of adultery hath bene taken from such creatures, and the originall thereof from the

lawes of God. In Deuteronomie & Exodus it doth appeare that by the law of Moses adulterers were stoned, but that rigour doth not our lawes obserue, for vvere it to bee obserued in these daies, vve should not find stones enow to fulfill it. The busynesse and duties between man and wvife ought to bee diuided, yea euен after the example of Fouls, amongst whome the Female taketh the charge and keepeth the neast, hatcheth the egs & feedeth the chickens, whilst the male goeth abroad to purchase food. After the example (I say) of Fouls ought the husbād and wvife reciprocally to loue and succour ech other; to keepe their vowed faih, and to helpe and relieue each other. the wvife to take the ouersight of the huswuerie wthin doores, euен of those things that are most fit and conuenient for her kind, as to spinne, wworke wth the needle, wwash, suckle and feed the children, correct and direct the maidseruants, keep account of the linnen and housshould stufse, haue an eye to the garner, seller, and other housshould prouision, still to keepe her selfe in the state of an honest wvife, sildome out of her husbands dores, not (as the Preacher starme it) to run on pilgrimage to a Trotters Feast: neither to gad vp and dwyne to Feasts and banquets : for as a crazed Barke is not safe to traffique the great seas,

seas, but may vwell serue neare the shore or in
the hauen, so long as she keepeth neere home :
euен so a yong vvoman is in greater danger of
her chasfity among company at Feasts & ban-
quets, than she shoulde be in her owne house, as
I haue more largely shewed in my Moroso-
phie in these verles, vwhich as fitting this place,
and containing much sence in few vvords, I
haue here inserted :

*The craſed ſhip to wreake is thrall,
When without ſence we force it flote :
Likewiſe the wife in Pilgrims ſtall,
More ſafe at home, all men will note.*

Of this mariage and combination in Loue,
Spake the vyſe Lew his in Ecclesiastes, ſaying :
Three things are allowed before God & man,
Agreement of brethren, Loue among neighbours,
and the husband and the vvife that liue
at vnitie. And to ſay the truthe, Mariage vwell
and duly obſerued, euen that mariage vwherein
the husband and the vvife doe feare God, and
keepe Faith ech to other: vherin (as as is ſayd)
the vvife ordereth vwell all that belongeth to
her ſex, is one of the greatest benefits, yea euen
the oueraigne felicitie of this terreftriall vvorld,
vvlierupon the scripture alſo ſayth, That happy

is that man that hath a good wifē : vvhērīn vve
are to note , that this vwas not in vaine spoken
to Raguell (as appeareth in *Toby*, the seuenth
chapter.) This man that feareth God is to thy
daughter due.

Another kind of mariage is called the mariage
of Labour : and in our daies is this kind of
mariage in greater & more vſuall practise than
any other,vwherein many(yea almost infinite)
doe marrie for Couetousnesse but not for Ver-
tue,neither for chastitie or any good report,ei-
ther of maid or wifē. *Plautus* the Comicalpo-
et saith, That he that list to marrie, should take
his wifē by the eares , and not by the fingers :
that is,for her good report; not for her golden
dowrie,vwhich is counted by the fingers, as I
haue sayd in my Theatre. *Licurgus* the great
Lawmaker of the Lacedemonians did in his
Lawes establish, that in his Commonwealth
neither maidens nor wyomen should haue any
dowrie ; and this he did to the end that Vertue
might bee preferred before Riches : and not
vwithout great reason; for that Commonwealth
vwherein Riches are preferred before Vertue,
cannot long continue. Wherof we haue a no-
table example in the Romane commonwealth
which flourished so long as Vertue was prefer-
red

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red before Riches. In these daies (saith *Hugo* of S. Victors) mariages are not made for Continencie, but for Fornication; neither vpon hope of Issue, but in regard of Monie. In this fense are such mariages vwoorthily tearmed, The mariages of Labour. He that taketh a vvife for vwealth, selleth his Libertie and putteth on intollerable Bondage; as the Satyricall poet seemeth to haue tried, vyhen hee sayd that there is nothing more intollerable then a riche vvife. Where there is inequalitie of vwealth betweene the husband and the vvife (especially vyhen the husband is poore and the vvife rich) the mariage vwill be alwaies full of strife, neither vwill they euer vwell agree, as the sayd Satyrical Poet hath most learnedly declared, saying:

*Of man and wife, the lawful bed
Wherin they ought to rest,
Can never scape from blame or shame,
Whobi when Discord Peace can wrest.
Gorgia the soueraigne Orator (of vvhom
Gibbe shaketh most honourable mention in
handie places) heretofore exhorted the Greeks
to peace and concord, in a vwoonderfull cun-
ning Oration that he made; vpon the delivery
wherof one Melanthus in presence of all the
Assistants*

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Assistants sayd, My lords and maisters, behold here *Gorgia*s vwho vwith his eloquent Oration laboureth to exhort vs to concord vwho are an infinit number of people, yet can he not plead so vwell as to persuade peace in his owne houle, vtherin there are no more but himselfe, his wife, and his maidseruant, who are but three in all, for they are alwaies at strife and continuall debate ; and therefore (my lords) I take it to be a great presumption in him to exhort vs to concord, vwhich himselfe cannot procure in his owne priuat Familie. By this historie (gentle Reader) thou art to note that *Gorgia*s, vwho by his eloquent speech and discretion, thought himselfe able to appease the sedition of a whole realme, could not neuerthelesse by any meanes keepe his vwife and one onely seruant in order. Moreouer *Licurgus* being demaunded, Why in his Lawes he had ordained that in his citie women and maidens should haue no dowrie ? To the end (sayd he) that pore maids and widows should not be reiected for their pouertie, neyther the rich taken for their vwealth. *Martia*, a noble Roman widow, being demaunded vwhy she married nor againe, considering shée vwas both rich, and in the flower of her youth, answered, Because I cannot find any man that loueth my person more then my vwealth ; indeed

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if I could light vpon him that loued mee more
then my goods, I could be cōtent to take him.
This discreet answer of this ladie sheweth that
mariages made for couetise, are indeed mari-
ages of Labour. *Marius a Romane*, asked *Me-
tellus* (also a noble Roman) wherfore he would
not marrie his daughter, considering shee was
both beautiful, of a staid countinancie, in speech
eloquent, of a noble race, rich in dowrie, hap-
pie in good report, and adorned vwith vertue :
to vwhome *Metellus* shaped this answer, I doe
not refuse your daughter for any euill that is in
her, but for that I had rather be my owne than
hirs. Nowe vwill I leaue it for thee to thinke at
vwhat marke he leuelled that arrow.

The fourth kind of mariage, is the mariage
of Sorrow, vwhich is no other but the combi-
nation of the Wicked and Reprobat : this cō-
bination, is tearmed of Sorrow, vwhich falleth
(as the Prophet saith) in the heads of the vvi-
cked and reprobate.

By the premisses haue vve now expounded
the last tree : proceeding in our commentaries
of the parts of the house Matrimoniall, and the
title vwherein it is vwritten Husband and Wife,
and not to frustrat the honor of mariage: in the
iust commendation therof we are to note, that
among

AMONG many things that make mariage so excellent; first vve haue the antiquite of the originall thereof, vvhich vvas euен in the beginning and immediatly after the creation of all other things; withall, the continuance thereof throughout the degrees of al former ages, euен to this present; likewise the common consent and approbation of all Nations, vvhether Hebrewes, Greeks, Latines, or Barbarians. Is it possible that that vwhich our good and moste mightie God hath instituted, and by his diuine & vspeakable prouidence established, should be other but most good, most great, and most excellēt? Is it possible that the spring & fountaine of all goodnessse, should yeeld any thing that were not good, yea euен in all supreme degrees of goodness? Is it possible that that which is established by the lawes of G O D and man should be other than iust and worthie obseruation? Scarce had God created the first man, but he deuised to giue him a vwife as a loving companion and comfort to his life, and vvitthal performed it: For vwith God to deuise is to doe, and to do is to deuise. Will and Power are with man far alunder; but vwith God Will is Power, and Power is Will. God therefore would create vwoman, yet not of earth, neither of any other strange substance, but euен of the Rib of

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man, that so she might be the neerer vnto him, more agreeable and conioined, as borne and extract out of his own bodie. All other the mysteries of our religion (albeit they be all diuine and holy) vvere ordained for the preseruation and amendment of man, after hee had alreadie sinned; but this mysterie did God find out for the production of mankinde, and the lawfull propagation of nature, and that in the time of innocencie. For before that man had sinned, this mysterie vvas ordained to giue vs birth; but the rest after the Fall, to raise vs again: now so much as our birth is greater then our rysing againe, and the office than the remedie, euens so much is this mysterie greater and of more excellency then all the rest. Againe, the other mysteries vvere not receiued of all men, but this mysterie of mariage hath bene receaued of all nations vwith a like consent, albeit diuerslie in ceremonies. Besides, mortall men considering the holinesse & necessitie of this mysterie, haue studied to beautifie and enrich it vwith all sorts of myrth and delights, as songs, daunces, Musickē in sundrie sorts, assembly of kinred, meeeting of Friends, banquets, feasts, iewels, rings, rich garments, gorgeous attire, masques, tragedies, comedies, vwhich vve commonly terme Plaies, and such like pastimes betokening ioy

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and soueraigne delectation. Neither is there any nation vnder the cope of heauen, howsoeuer barbarous or deuoid of ciuitie, but at mariages and nuptiall feasts vwill rejoice and bee merrie. Let vs read or call to mind the nuptiall songes both of the ancient and newe Poets, Greeks and Latines, and vve shall discerne the great cunning that they vsed in the beautifieng and enriching of their mariages, and yeelding the feasts pleasaunt. With vwhat eloquence hath *Catullus* vwritten the nuptiall song of *Mallius* and his vwife *Iulia*? With vwhat a grace hath *Claudian* composed the nuptiall songs of the Emperour *Honorius* and the princesse *Marie* his vwife? of the prince *Palladius* and *Seraine* his vwife? With vwhat grauitie and heroicall magnificence did *Papinius* vwrite the Nuptiall song of the poet *Stella* and *Violentia*? But aboue all the nuptiall songs of the Latines in the opinion of the learned, that was most highlye esteemed vwhich *Galien* the Romane emperor composed at the mariage of a young prince, his kinsman, as vwell for the inuention as disposition thereof, which is so much the more to be admired as it containes but 3 Exameter verses, vwhich also deservinge to be imparted to the wiser sort, as also for that it is rare, and besides will be soone read ouer, I haue hereinto inserted it:

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The Mirour of Police. If you fighte god, y^e together falle; your maneris^t stow impaſting
betwixt your ſoldies, let not y^e doore be opene to none loving you.

Fte simul (iuvenes) pariter fudate medullis

Omnibus inter nos, non murmura vestra colubae

Brachia non bederet, non vincant oscula concha.

Not long before our time the learned Philip
grew

*Beroaldus at the mariage of the lord Bentiuole
of Bologne the fat, composed a nuptiall song
most eloquent.*

Againe, let vs consider of the name of this mysterie, vvhich is called Matrimonie; and vve shall find it to be a name of great honor, pietie, and reuerence; the rather if vve marke vwhat names are attributed to the vnlawfull worke of the flesh, which are in sound most harsh & dishonest, as rape, incest, adulterie, fornication, & such like. What name of greater honour could be attributed to a new maried wife, than to entitle her, The mother of a Familie. Are there any names of more reuerence among men, than the names of Father and Mother? of Mother, I say, conioined to her husband by lawfull consent, wherby he is Father? In the Lords praier vve cal God our Father, because we cānot giue him any name of greater excellencie, either of greater reuerence among mankind. She that is a mother vwithout the lawful ceremonie of mariage, is vnworthy so honorable a title, only she

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is truly to be honoured vwith that name, vwhich can aduouch a true father in mariage. The law-
yer sayth that he is to be reputed the true same,
vwhich is so declared by Matrimonie or lawfull
mariage. Shee is the true mother that concea-
ueth her children vwithout blemish, vwithout
offence to God, vwithout obloquie or reproch
to parents or kinred, and finally without doing
iniurie to any. This Mysterie hath obtained the
title of Matrimonie, to the end that children
may vwithout doubting call her mother vwhich
hath concealed them, and him that hath inge-
dered them (in all reverence) Father, and so ac-
knowledge as vwell the one as the other vwith-
out reproch of sinne. But how many examples
may vvee produce in this discourse, to prooue
that among all nations all carnall copulation of
man and vwoman, if not comprehended vwith-
in the lawfull bounds of Matrimonie, hath bene
reprooued? Albeit the ancient Arabians and
Troglodites, yea and the first inhabitants of
great Britaine, now called England, had their
vwomen common, separated only by Famelies,
yet did they most severely punish as vwell men
as vwomen, that compassed vwith any out of
their Famelies. The ancient Indians, not content
vwith one vwife, tooke many, some dedicated to
their pleasures, others to generation and pro-
pagation

pagation of their line : and there the husbands did vse to giue monie to the vviues parents, not to take any : vvhich the Cantabers (a people of Spaine) did also in old time . The Germanes, vvhom vvee commonly call Almains , vvere vvoont to appoint to their vviues a dowry, not to receiue any from them or their parents. And as concerning the punishment of adultery, they vsed therein as greate seueritie as the former, for the punishment vvas death . The *Ægyptians* (vvhoso boast themselues to be the first men in the vworld , as the Geographers doe reporte) gaue vnto the men that committed adultery so many stripes, that they might shew a thousand vvwounds vpon the bodie ; and for the vwomen, they cut off their noses : the reason, The nose is the member vwhich doth most beautifie or deforme the face, and the beautie of a vwoman's face is the cause to commit adulterie: and therfore cutting off the harlots nose , they tooke from her the beautie vwhich vwas the cause of the offence, and so shée vvent vwith a deformed face in vvitness of her trespass comitted. We find in some ancient authors, that in the East there is a certaine nation vvhile all are married but their king, vwho by their law is forbidden to marrie: but vwith this priuiledge, that he may chuse any of his subiects vviues vvhom hee list,

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to vse at his pleasure, and then send her home againe to her husband : and shee vyhome the king doth most send for, is accouēted the most honourable and glorious : otherwise amongst theselues they keepe their mariage inuiolably. Among the Taxilles, a nation of Asia, whē they had any poore maidens to marrie, certain censors to that purpose deputed, vvith Trumpets, drums, and greate pompe of musicall instruments, brought them to the common market, and there stripped them, and such of the assistance as best liked them tooke them to their vviues, and so kept them inuiolably and vvithout adulterie. The Africains had certaine Magistrats called Triumiri and prouosts of Marriages, men of approoued grauitie, vvho had in charge to bring the maidens that vvere mariageable into the market, & by a crier to make proclamation to see who would haue thē, and such as had once accepted of thē, durst not for their liues leaue them. The Babilonians sent their daughters to the Innes, where it vvas lawfull for the guests, for a certaine summe of monie, to lie vvith thē a certain number of nights, and vvith the monie so gotten, did afterwards marrie them. I haue heard (but can hardly beeleeue it) that euē in these daies in some partes of Scotland they do vse this custome. S. Hierom

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(a doctor of i: reprooueable authoritie) reporteth that in his time he saw Scots eat mas flesh. This barbarous and dishonest custome of deliuering their daughters to bee defloured, did the Ciprians also obserue.

In Sicill, the Heraclians vpon the mariage daye to bring their Daughters vnto the Sea shore, and there habandon thē to the lust of all commers, and the money vwhich came thereof, vwas giuen vnto their husbands: wherin shee that had bene most abused vvas best esteemed: and this abuse did they tearme, Venus sacrifice: yet after that, spent the rest of their daies in chaftitie and shamefastnesse with their husbands. Thus vvere the sayd mariages more honestly continued than begun.

Who so list to inlarge this discourse, might wryte a great and large volume, but the premisses maye suffice the Reader for the vnderstanding of the diuers conditions of sundrye nations, vwho themselues (each in his kinde) very wise, albeit herein they vvere but starke fooles.

Many other Nations I omit, as the Persians, vwhere the Father many times married the daughter, the sister the brother, and the sonne the mother; as did also heretofore the Aegyptians and Grecians.

But

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But in pompe, ceremonies, and decencie of mariage, the ancient Italians surpassed all other nations, and therfore I doe not thinke it amisse somewhat to discourse vpon their ancient obseruations, thereby in fewe vvords to smooth the vway to the plainer vnderstanding of that vwhich many Philosophers haue diffusedly en-treated of in sundry places. First vve are to consider that they intiablye obserued this custome, neuer to marry their vwidows or daughters by constraint, vwherein they agree with our religion, vwhich in mariage vrgeth the consent of the parties. When the appointed day of mariage vvas come, the bride vvas richly apparailed, her haire scattered ouer her shouolders, her head enuironed vwith a garlad of diuers flowers differing both in smell and colour, and carried in her hand a branch of Veruine (an hearbe in olde time dedicated to the goddesse Lucina) this hearbe Vertuin they did hold in so great reverence, that they named it, The holy hearbe; as thinking that in all their sacrifices and ceremonies it brought good lucke and prosperity, and it vvas vsuallye gathered in some sacred place. The Ancients did adorne the alters of their gods with fundrie trees and plants: to Jupiter they dedicated a kind of Oke called Efculus, to Apollo the Laurell, to Minerua the

Olieue

Olie tree,to Venus the Mirtle,to Hercules the Poplar,to Bacchus the Yvie,to Pan the Pine-tree, and the Ciprus to Dis the god of hell: all vwhich I haue here set downe by the wwaye to the end it may serue to the vnderstanding of many poeticall fixions. Before the bride marched her mother, carying in a cofer the ouches, iewels, rings, looking glasses, combes, yuorie pins seruing to frizle haire, needles, pins, girdles, garters, and all other vvomanish ornaments, which in Latine the lawyers doe terine *Mundus muliebris*: called indeed *mundus*, in regard of the cleannessse and puritie that ought to adorne euery honest vvoman, vwhich also, next to her chastitie, is the thing that bringeth her into most estimation: as contrariwise flutterie and filthinesse breeds her most hatred. For Virgins of honourable houses, they prouided a chariot drawne ywith vvwhite horses, tearmed Iupiters horses: vwhich vvhitenes of the horses betokened as vwell the cleannessse of the bodie as the innocencie of the mind, vwhich should adorne euery new married vvife, vwho ought to be free from euery blemish and spot of reproch. Thus vvas the bride brought from her fathers to hir husbands house: vwherein vve are also to note, that shee vvas alwaies led through the chiefest streets of the citie, not through any by-lanes,

thereby to shew that a wyoman must alwaies
goe the plaine and broad wway, but nevere seeke
corners or places, vwhere she may incurre the
coiecture of sinistre suspition. Neither did they
use in all these ceremonies, any action vwhich
did not demonstrat some token of the chasti-
tie and honestie that ought to be in euery wo-
man; vwhich al is to be taken mystically. More-
over entring into her husbādshouse, the bride
vwas to couer her head and face vwith a vaile,
therein to declare, that losing her freedome, she
entered into the subiection of her Husband.
This speech maketh mee to remember that I
haue read in Genesis that vwhen Isaac vwent to
meet his spouse Rebecca, who vwas comming
towardshim, she asked of hir guide vwhat hee
vwas that came against her: vwho told her that
it vwas Isaac her future lord & husband: vher-
upon shee couered her with her cloke, vwhich
vwas not done vwithout some secret mysterie.
Sildome should you haue seene married viues
shew their haire, or vwalke abroad bareheade,
neither is it seemly: besides that, the Apostle
exhorteth euerie married wifē to couer hir hair
in signe of subiection. Moreover, the bride ca-
ried or caused to be carried vwith her, a pannier
or basket full of meale, bread, flesh, cheese, and
other victuals: thereby to declare, that euerie
mother

Imother of a familiē, or good houswife, shoule
carefully attend to the prouision of the house,
and not to tarry vntill the sollar be emptye, or
the sellar drie: for, according to the proverbe,
It is too late to seek ywealth at the bottome of
the sacke, or when the hoggshead is emptie: but
prouision must be looked for before al be spēt.
Again, when she came to the entrie of hir hus-
bands house, before she came ouer the ground-
sell, her husband vwith both his hands toke her
vnder the armes and hoisted her so high, that
she should hit the upper poast of the doore with
her head, and so tooke her ouer that her feete
might not touch the groundsell: vwhich cere-
monie vvas thought to bee devised to put the
bride in mind by the grieve of the blow of her
head, that if so be that she desired a good name
and to bee accounted an honest wwoman, she
shoulde not gad often out of her Husbands
house.

The uppē post, and the side postes of the
doore, were decked vwith garlands of sundrie
flowers, in wytnesse of new ioyes, and sign that
the Bride depended principallye vpon the
honour of her husbands house. The daugh-
ters of Noblemen were apparailed in fine pur-
ple, or some other costly and rich stufse, so
made that they shoulde not shew their breasts,

or other inward part, for all was covered and
suitable to their virginitie : Their lookes were
shamefafe, concurring with the modestie of
their apparell. Their gesture and pace with
other their countenances , such as shewed their
bringing vp to haue bene among honourable
personages, and in all chastetie. At their necks
they ware a iewell hanging in a ribband, to sig-
nifie that they were tied and bound to the sub-
iection of their husbands. The bride was com-
monlye accompanied with three noble chil-
dren, of the which one carried a burning torch,
which is the Embleme or badge of virginitie :
For the vestall virgins only had the keeping of
the sacred fire dedicated to Vesta the goddesse
of virginitie . These virgins were consecrated
to goddesse Vesta, as the nuns in the Romish
church are to S. Cleer, S. Monick, and suchlike.
The other two boies came to take the bride
out of her mothers hands to deliuer her to her
husband, which they performed rashlye with
tumult, and as it were by violence . This cere-
monie was vsed to put them in mind of the rape
of the Sabine virgines and wiues, whome Ro-
mulus and his vassals had rauished: as you may
read in Liuie, Plutarch, and other Historio-
graphers. This rauishment of Virgins & wiues
was prosperous to the Romans , for by their
fruit-

fruitfulnesse their commonweale vvas augmented and their citie peopled. Their heads & faces vvere couered, to shew also that a chast woman should not cast her eye (either amorously or lasciuiously) vpon any man but her husbād. To their brides they also deliuered an yron ring, all round vwithout any stone, to put them in remembrance that the Romane Commonwealth was growne vp as vwell by the fruitfulness of their vviues, as by the yron in their armour and harnesse : the roundnesse of the ring shewed, that euerie honest vwoman should goe roundly about her businesse vwithout counterfeiting or dissimulation ; besides, that in a round thing ye cannot so easily hide that thing vwhich might be hidden in a square or cornerd thing, vwhereto the Prouerbe agreeth, that Truth seeketh no corners. The Acarnaniens, a people inhabiting beyond mount Taurus, vwould not suffer any to marrie, before he had presented his king vwith an enemies head : thereby giuing to vnderstand that no man vwas to be admitted to marrie before his age strength and heart serued him to defend his familie and commonwealth, and to assault his enemie. We are also to note, that in the celebration of the sayde Mariages, there might not come any vwidow, how neere foever of kin ; as presuming her presence to be

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a sorrowfull and sinister prognostication of death, either to the bride or bridegroome. At euery mariage feast they killed a Sow, as a presage of fruitfulnesse to the newe Bride: for as the mule is the embleme and presage of barrennesse, so is the Sow of fertilitie and pluralitie of children, as indeed the sow is a beast very profitable for housshould. Plinie in the eight booke of his naturall historie, speaking of the fruitfulness of the Sow, sayth that sometimes at one litter she bringeth foorth twentie pigs, albeit she cannot bring vp so many. Vpon the Feast day also they cast before the doore and about the house great store of nuts, in presage of the children to come, whome they hoped to bee begotten in the mariage. Among the Ancients nuts were the Embleme of Infancie, because children doe greatly delight in them, either for eating, or play. Of these nuts doth Virgil make expresse mention in his mariage of Mopsus & Nisa. Others doe attribute to these nuts a more morrall signification, saing that after a man or wwoman are entered into mariage, he is to consider that he is past a child when hee is able to be a father, and that therefore hee must forget all childishnesse, as his play at nuts & suchlike, and so shew himselfe to be a man. The Apostle sayth, When I was a child I spake and did as a child,

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child, but after I came to mans estate, I left off
all childishnesse and deeds of infancie. Againe,
the bride brought to her husband, or as some
say, the husband broughte to the vyfie fire in
one hand and water in the other. Concerning
the mystical sence of this ceremony, some haue
conieuctured that as the communicatiō of mans
life consisteth principally in the vse of these two
elements, fire & water, so can there be no more
familiar or vnted communication than of the
husband and the vyfie; and because fire & wa-
ter are the embleme of communio or commu-
nication, in old time banished persons vvere
forbidden fire and vywater, by the forbidding
vwhereof, they meant to prohibit them from al
communion or familiaritie. Others by this em-
bleme of fire & vywater, haue meant that as they
are diametricall contraries, both in the first and
second qualities, for that the fire is hote & drie
and the vywater cold and moist, so is man natu-
rally hote and drie, and vywoman cold & moist.
Considering therefore the heat and drought of
man, and the cold & moisture of woman, when
these two contraries are cōioined, they redoud
into a harmonie & temperature of loue. Some
expound this embleme, That by the cōtrariety
of fire and vywater, vve may vnderstand the di-
fention, muttering & debate that oft times do
fall

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fall out between maried folkes, and that in mariage there is no smile vwithout teares , neither rest vwithout labour, and to say the truth, as in mariage there is honie, so is there also gall : yet is it not so in mariage only, but also in all vocations in this terreltriall and sensible vworldly Theatre, vwhere vvee cannot tast of honie vwithout gaule, neither of sugar vwithout aloes : And this doth *Homer* giue vs to vnderstande by the two vessels that he faineth to stand at the entry vnto Olimpus , one full of honie the other of gaule, vwhereof being mixed togither , Iupiter vwatereth all mankind, as I haue alreadie declared in my Theatre : vwhich also the great Philosopher *Cebes* verie vwell expresteth in his table of the Miserie of mans life. Now because the place here fitteth, I haue here inserted the ver- ses, out of Latine :

*Why doth this faire and louing wife,
vnto her spouse and Mate,
This fire bring and water both,
which alwaies are at bate ?
To shew that in the Wedlocke band
berweene the man and wife,
Each smile bath tears, each pleasure griefe,
such contraries are rife.*

But

But it is no maruaile that there shoulde sometimes fall dissencion betweene the husband & the wifē, who are two seuerall bodies, sith in one selfe body the parts are many times at debate. In one selfe wvombe of Rebecca the two brethren and twins, Iacob & Esau, stroue who shoulde come first foorth. Rome coulde not brooke the two brethren twinnes, striuing for the monarchie thereof. The Athenians for the preuenting of such dissensions as might fall out betweene the husband and the wifē ; also for the appeasing of such as wvere happened, v- sed great prouidence : for in their cōmonweale they establisched certaine Magistrats, vvhōme they named, Reconcilers of the married, whose office it vvas to enquire throughout the Citiē, Whether the husband & wvives liued in good accord and amity, and vwhen they heard of any contention betweene them, they wvere to take notice of the right and wvrong , and finally to reconcile and reduce them to accord: vwhereto if they would not voluntarilie condiscend, they wvere to force them either by fine, satisfaction, imprisonment, or otherwise according to the exigence of the obstinacie. The Romanes had not in like case any set officers as the Athenians had : but if any discention happened between the husband and the wifē, the parents of both

parties met in a temple consecrated to the goddesse *Viriplaca*, & there take notice of the right or vvrong, and so finally reconciled them. In the Spartane Commonweale they had certain set Officers named Harmosyns, who had in charge to punish the insolencie of vvomen, & to suppress their arrogance and pride. But the Romanes could neuer boast of such an iuention: For Plato long before had established it, as appeareth in the eleuenth dialogue of his laws. Before I end this present discourse, it will not be amisse to make mention of this old question, so often argued among the Philosophers, both Greekes and Latines, and as yet left vnresolued and determined: The question is this, Whether it bemeet a wise man should mary. *Thesophrastus* (*Aristotles* daughters son) a great Philosopher, did long since profoundly argue this question in his booke of Mariage, vvhether by the iniquitie of time vvee are deprivited. Some held opinion, that to marrie vvas commendable; others to the contrarie. *Thales* the Milesian, one of the seuen Sages of Greece by antiquite of speech, went about to proue, that it vvas not expedient for a wised man to mary: for in his youth, being asked why he married not, he answered, Because it was too soone, and that it was not yet time; long after being growne old,

and

and asked the same question, he answered, that it was too late, and that the time was past. Thus did hee in these vyords couertly giue to vnderstand, that it vvas not meet for a wyse man to marrie. For albeit the name of a Husband bee both sweet and honourable, yet (vvhoso so list to consider, and in *Critolaus* ballance to peise it) it is a full great and intollerable burthen : neither vvere the marriage roses free from thornies, neither so sweete a raine exempt from some stormes of haile . Who (say they) is able vwith patience to beare the charges of mariage, the arrogance and insolencie of vyomen, the yoke of a sexe so vnperfect ? Who can satisfie as vwell their carnall lusts , as their insatiable pompe ? Is it not an old Prouerbe, That Women and Shippes are neuer so perfect, but still there is somewhat to bee amended. Take a poore vvife, and she shall be despised, and thou the lesse set by : Take a rich one vwith a great dowrie , so of a maister thou shalt be made a varlet : but vwhat varlet ? euen a more base one then a skullion in a Kitchen. Of a free man thou shalt bee made a slave, and vveening to match vwith an equall companion , thou shalt marrie an intollerable Mistresse ; I wot not whether I may not say a devill. Take a faire wife, thou art in danger to make
thy

thy round head beare hornes, vwhich is a terrible Metamorphosis, if it vvere visible and apparent. A castle (notwithstanding vwhat vwatch soever) is hardly kept vwhen many do assaile it ; and his victory is desperat, vwho being alone is forced to fight vwith many. What els shall vvee say ? Riches make a vvoman proud , Beautie breedeth suspition, Euilfaouourednesse maketh her odious. Is there (sayth *Plutarch*) any thing more light than the tongue qf a shameles vwoman , more sharpe than her outrages , more rash then her presumption, more horrible then her malice, or more dangerous then her wrath? I will not speake of vvomans teares that are alwaies in vse. Many times when the vvife vveepeth, the husband taketh her to poure forth the teares of sorrow, when she sheddeth the teares of treason. Womens teares are like the teares of the Crocodile, who neuer vveepeth but in treason. Women alway haue, and daily doe poure forth such fained teares, that vwhen they vveepe indeed for sorrow, vve doubt disimulation & treason. Againe, such as speake euill of women, doe enrich their vvords vwith hystories and examples, alleadging the harmes and inconueniences that they haue vrrought, as the destruction of Troy, *Hesiodes Pandora* : the pittifull death of Hercules by *Deianira*, Sampson betraied

traied by *Dalida*, *Salomon* peruerterd and made
a beast by his Concubines, *Achab* destroyed
through *Iesabel*, *Marc Anthony* killing him-
selfe for the loue of *Cleopatra*. And (vwhich in
regard both of time, and the scandale thereof
ensuing, vve should haue said first) our great fa-
ther *Adam* deceiued by *Eue*, through vvhose
transgression sinne (as the Apostle saith) came
into the vworld, and through sinne death. They
doe also alledge the contemners of mariage:
the saying of *Jpponates*, vvhoso vwas of opinion,
that the maried man hath but two good daies;
one his mariage day, the other the day that his
wife dieth: meaning that the mariage day must
be good, because then they vsually make great
cheare, and the bride is new and fresh, and all
new things doe like vs, and of all pleasures, the
beginning is most delectable: The day that the
vvife dieth, he tearmeth good, because the poy-
son dieth vwith the beast, and the husband sur-
uiuing, by his vvives death commeth out of
bondage, and returneth into his first franchise
and libertie, vvhich surpasseth all gold, euen the
gold of Arabia, in richnesse. *Alezandreides* also
said, that the mariage day vvas the beginning
and entrie into many calamities. They also al-
lege the saying of *Philemon*, vwho thought
the vvife to be to her husband, a necessarie euil,

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and immortall. *Menander* said, that the poore man that married , incurred a threefold mischeife : First, albeit hee had no children, yet must hee feed at the least two persons; and ha-
ving children , more : next , that hee tooke that in charge that hee could not safely keepe: lastly, that he endangered himselfe to be the father of vvicked children, vwho many times are the subuersion and dishonour of their fathers house, and a reprocch to the whole kinred. Like-
vvile doe they alleadge the saying of *Diphilus*, That it is a hard matter throughout the world, to find one good vvife, vwhereto also agreeth the old Prouerbe, that saith, A good vvife, a good Moile, and a good Goat, are three bad beasts. To enrich their Argument , they also bring in *Chæremone* , saying, That it vvas a greater blessing to the Husband to see his wife laid in her graue than in her bed. A Greeke Philosopher being asked what vvas the greatest good hap that euer befell him , answered, That he had neither vvife nor children. They proceed yet farther, and bring in the History of a noble Romane, vwho being very sad and heauie the next day after his marriage, and had the night before lien vwith his vvife , vwas by some of his friends and familiars asked vwhat cause hee had to bee so sad , sith his vvife vwas both

both faire, rich, and verie vwell borne : hee stretching forth his legge , and shewing his foot said , Behold you see my shooe is new, faire, and vwell made , yet you knowe not in vwhat part of my foot it wringeth mee . *Socrates* said, That men were to bee corrected by the Lawes of the Citte that they inhabited, and wiues by the Lawes of the men whome they maried. They farther alleage *Hesiod*e, who saith, That he which trusteth to a vwoman, is as safe as he that hangeth upon the leaues of a tree, especially in the end of Autumnē whē the leaues begin to fall. *Homer*(say they) reporteth that *Ulysses*, albeit *Penelope* was both faithfull and chast, would never trust her vntill the verie extremitie. And as for *Pandora*, whom vvee haue before mentioned , they say , that albeit of *Mercurie* she had learned eloquence, of *Pallas* to spinne, sow, and worke with the needle, and hath had her apparrell from *Venus*, yet did she bring the whole world into confusion: Then what will that woman do, that hath had none of these benefites from the gods, as *Pandora* had ? All these goodly allegations, vwhereof the most part are but fruolous, doe these that speake euill of vwomen, produce. But as concerning men, if some haue by them been deceived, the fault is to bee imputed rather to

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to themselves then to them, who according to the perfection of their kind, ought to haue ben vviser then vvomen, vvhō Nature hath brought forth more changeable in vwill, and more fraile in counsel: albeit *Plato* hath not quite excluded them from the gouernement of a Common-
weale, in case any may be found capable of such a charge, for their naturall imperfection ought not to be obiected against them as a reproch, but be imputed rather to nature then to them, and so such as taxe them therewith, doe proue themselves deuoid of reason, far from all good capacity, and vtterly vnworthe that vvomen should haue conceaued them, brought them into the vworld, suckled or bfought them vp.
I presume, Reader, that thou hast heard the tale of the Nunne, vvhō finding in her booke at the bottome of the leafe these vvords, *Bonum est omnia scire*, determined and meant to trie vvhāt the carnall copulation of man and woman might be, but turning ouer the leafe, she saw in the beginning thereof, vwhere it vvas written, *Sed non vti*, vwhereupon to her greefe, she altered her purpose, and her ioy lasted but a vwhile. Euen so in this discourse, such as speake hardly of mariage and vviues, might by reading this vvhich I haue set downe in regard of their opinions, thinke their cause good, but it vwill
fall

fall out with them, as with the Nunne : They shall haue small ioy, if they doe but turne ouer the leafe, that is, if they read that which followeth, vwhich doth vvholly conclude and persist in the contrary of the premisses.

First of the originall and antiquity of mariage, of the place where it vvas instituted, and of the Authour, vwho vwas our good and mighty God, I will not at this present make anie farther mention, but be content with so much as is already set downe. But for the rest, Plato the heauenly Philosopher said, that if with our bodily eies vve could behold the beautie that is contained in Honesty, we shoulde fal greatly in loue vwith her, yea euен so far, that we shoulde not bee able to satisfie our eies vwith the view thereof: but she cannot be seene but vwith the eies of the spirit. But if vve list vwith the eies of our spirit to view the beautie of Honestie, vve cannot any where more curiously seek, or more easily find her then in mariage: Can there be any thing more honest then the maried life, in case it be on all parts accomplished ? Was there euer any calling more beautified then the same vwhich our Sauior vouchsafed to beautifie with his presence, the nuptiall feast vwhereof hee did illustrat vwith his miracle, euen the first that euer hee vvrought in his humanity ? Can any

thing be more holy then that vwhich the holy
of holies, the Father and Creator of all things,
hath established, honoured, and in his pre-
sence consecrated? Can there be anie greater
equity the to leaue to our successors that which
vve hold from our predecessors? By coniugall
copulation vvee are in the wworld, and by the
same are vve to leaue others for to continue the
propagation vwhich our ancestors haue conti-
nued vnto vs. If they haue not omitted the con-
tinuation of it vnto vs, neither must vvee omit
to continue it to our successors. Can there be
any greater folly, then to seeke to shunne that
thing as prophane, vwhich God hath account-
ed holy? For euill, vwhich hee hath reputed
good? For delectable, vwhich hee hath dee-
med sacred? Can there be any greater inhuma-
nity, then to reprove the spring of humanity?
Is there any greater ingratitude then to denie
to our aftercommers that which vve haue recei-
ued from our forerunners? If vve demand vwho
was the first Authour to establish Marriage, it
was neither Abraham, Isaac, Moyse, Licurgus,
Solon, Plato, neither Aristotle, but it vvas euen
God himselfe, vwho did institute, honour, com-
mend, yea, vwhich is more, vwho did consecrate
marriage. Immediately after God had created
man of the slime of the earth, he knew that his
life

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life should be both miserable, tedious, and displeasing, vntesse hee also gaue him a vvife to keep him faithful companie, vvhom, as is aforesaid, he made not of the like slime, but of mans bone, to shew that nothing should cleave so sure, or be so conioined or conglutinated vnto him, as his vvife. Moreouer, after the flood, for the restauration of mankind, God said not, liue in continencie, but liue, multiply, and replenish the earth. If any man alleadge, that this commandement vvas giuen in regard of the necessarie of the time, as also, the libertie of *Moses* law; did not Iesus Christ vwith his owne mouth say, Man shall leaue his father & mother, and cleave to his vvife? Can any thing be more holy then the dutie that vve owe to our parents that haue begotten vs? yet is the fidelity in marriage preferred before all dutie to father or mother, but by vwhat Author? Euen by God himselfe. At vwhat time? Not in the time of Iudaisme, but in time of Christianisme. The father is left, the mother is left, the vvife is kept: For how long? Not for anie time limited, but euen vwhile life dooth last. That vwhich God hath begun, death only dooth end, that vwhich God hath cōioined only death seperats, that which God hath assured, man cannot dissolute, that which god hath establisht, none can abolish. O
nothing what

what a dignity! what a preheminence! what a prerogatiue hath mariage? If anie cauelling Sophister list to say, If Mariage be so wortbie and so honourable, vwhy did Iesus Christ forbear it? Why wwould not he marrie? The answere is readie: How manie perfections vvere there in Iesus Christ, vvhich vve may better admire, then imitate? He was borne without a fa-ther, and vwithout anie anguish to his mother came forth of that close monument. All that vvas in him surpassing nature, vve may admire, but by reason of our humand frailetie, vwe can-not imitate. He vvas both God and Man: to humanitie mariage is conuenient, but to Deitie it is repugnant. He vouchsafed to be borne of a Virgine, yet maried: it vwas conuenient for God to be borne of a Virgine, and of a maried Virgine, to teach vs that mariage is honorable, & this hath the Apostle expreſſed in his Epis-tle to the Hebrewes. Moreoþer, the fruitful-nesse of vwomen abounding in childdren, is the gift of God: for among his blessings bestowed vpon his people, this vwas one, To haue a fruit-ful vwife, and by her to see his table, and the cor-ners of his house beset vwith children, as the King and Prophet in his harmonie doth sing. In Deuteronomie we may read, that among all the blessings that God bestowed vpon the
children

children of Israell, this vvas nor the least, that among them there should not be a barren man nor wyoman. Had not barrenesse ben reprooved, the barren married, had not by Moyse law ben put from the Aultar, neither their offrings refusel: as among others, vve may read of *Joachim*, the Father of the Virgin *Marie*. But vwhy vvere they put backe? Because they left not a suruiuer of their race, & vvere therfore reputed as vnprofitable, bringing no increase to their Commonweale. *Rachel* and *Leah*, vwhen they could not conceiue, supposed that God had despised them. With vwhat a feruent desire did *Rachel* entreat her sister *Leah* to giue her of the *Mandragoras* that her sonne *Ruben* had brought from the fields, as vveening by them to recover the fruit of conception? Albeit Saint *Augustine* testifieth, that he never read in any Author that had wriuen of the nature and force of plants, that *Mandragoras* had the vertue to make the barten fruitfull, yet dooth the coldnesse thereof reduce into temper the excessiue heat of the matrixe, vwhich breedeth barrenesse, by burning the mans seed therin. Again, the Lawes of the Lewes had marriage in such reverence, that the newv married man vwas exempt and free from the wvarres for the first year of his mariage, that so he might haue one vwhole

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yeare to sport him, and to tend to generation; and without interruption to be merrie vwith his wifc. But good God, vwho can defend a Commonweale vwithout Armes? If mankind faileth, vwho shall beare armes? If that vwhich by death doth of necessitie grow to an end, vvere not by generation supplied, how could mankind continue? The Lawes of the Romanes (vwho to all Nations vvere a patterne of vertue) did rigoreously punish such as vwould not marrie, forbidding them all publicke Offices, and disgrading them from all such as they had alreadie obtained. Besides, the rather to invite them to marriage, and consequently to generation, they gaue priuiledges to such as had manie children, and he that had most children, had the greatest aduantage, and was soonest preferred to publick office and honor. The rigor of the said laws that thus punished such as liued in continency, were in fauor of the Christian law, moderated by Constantine the Romane Emperor. Long before the said Constantine, *Augustus Caesar* being Censor at Rome, did by his authority cause an inquisition to be take against a Romane knight, who (contrary to the law) would not mary, & should haue ben punished, had he not proued himselfe father of three childrē. *Vlpian* the Lawgiuer saith, That this was the
cause

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cause that womens dowries had such priuileges, neither was there any other reason for it, but on- ly the benefit that all Cōmonweales do reap of mariage: He that had three children, should ne- uer be forced to any legation, or publicke em- bassage: He that had fīue, was free frō all perso- nall charge, as an auncient tutor : Hee that had thirteeene, was free from all charge. Not without cause thē haue all Lawgiuers, Monarks, & Prin- cies, so highly fauored married men, & specially suchas haue replenished their cities with many childrē. But to what purpose do we stand vpon the examples of former ages, sith we haue both new & fresh in memory. *Raphael Volaterrā* in his Phitologie reporteth, that at Florence, euen at this day he that is father of twelve children, male or female, presently vpō the birth of the twelfth, is free and exempt from all taxe, impost, lone, or subsidy. If there be no greater good, neither any felicity more to be desired thē immortality, the same doth the propagation of our family, by continuation of kind (which nature denieth vs in single life) bring vnto vs, and thereby we are made immortal: wherefore we may hereof fully conclude, that to man or womā there can befall no greater felicity in this world, then to leaue issue, whereby to testifie to the posterity, that they haue beene in the vworld, vwhere they haue left the badge of their being.

The

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The Emperour *Adrian* (of all the Roman Emperors the most learned, especially in the Mathematices and Greeke tongue) vpon the confiscation of anie mans goods that vvas attaint and conuict of anie capitall crime, hearing that any such had childrē, vwould restore the goods of the condemned fathers to their children ; as knowing (being both learned and vwise) that the Romane Empire vwas better guarded and defended by the propagation of children, then by heaping vp richesse in his coffers. *Licurgus* in his Lawes did ordaine, that every Cittizen that preferred Continencie before the estate of Mariage, should be debarred from all publicke plaies, vvhich in those daies vwas a mighty reproch: and in Winter, vwhen the cold vwas sharpest, that they should be stripped, and forced to goe round about the market and common place starke naked. So holy and honourable did the Grecians account the bond of Mariage that in reuenge of the rauishment of *Helen*, and the Adulterie committed by *Paris Alexander*, they vvarred tenne yeares against the Troians, and finally destroied them. The Romanes by the law *Iulia* (so named of the Authour thereof) established death to marriage breakers. The Iewes, as is aforesaid, stoned them : yet theeuers in returning foure times the value of the stollen

stollen goods, did escape, but adulterets might not escape wwith life. The seuerity of the Ro-
mane lawes tollerated the murder of him that
vwas taken in adultery : but him that made af-
fault vpon man, might no man kill vwithout a
certaine moderation thereby implying that
the husband vwas more vronged in the abuse
of his vwife, then in attempting against his
owne life. But is there anie thing more naturall
then the combination of male and female ? If
vve list to lift vp our minds to the contemplati-
on of this great handie vvorke of God, vwhich
vve call the vworld, vve shall find combination
of male and female, as vwell in the celestiall
vworld, as in base terrestriall. Among the starres
and plannets, the sunne is as the male, and the
moone as the female: and this may vve discerne
in that the sunne is vwhite and drie, as man, and
the moone cold and moist, as vwoman. Among
the other plannets *Venus* beareth the name, &
hath the operation of the female, the rest of the
male. If vve proceed to speak of their substāce
and forme, *Aristotle* in his v wonderfull vvorke
of the history of Creatures, as also after him
Albert the great, doe say: That the forme taketh
the place of the male, and the substance the
place of the female. Also that as one man can
beget sundrie vwomen vwith child, so the forme

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may informe sundrie substances. Aristotle saith further, that as the substance desireth the form, so the vwoman desireth the man. Likewise that to make this combination of substance and forme; the substance, before it receiue the form, must be ordered and prepared according to the exigence of the forme. As for example, if of an earthly substance vve vwould make fire, vve must first purge and purifie it from the earthlinessse, and so neere as possiblie vve can, bring it to the subtiliation and simplicitie of fire. Of the signes of the Zodiake and fixed starres, some be male, and some female. What shall vve say more? Let vs behold the great mariage and combination that is betweene the sunne and the earth: The sunne is the male, and the earth the female. What an admirable combination (saith Aristotle) doe we behold in this marriage? The earth as the female conceiueth, and as a mother ministreth nutritiue moisture to all trees and plants: The sunne as the male & father, imparteth his quickening heat. Each actiuie is married to his pafsiue, yet doth there nothing come to effect, vnlesse betweene the agent which is the male; and the patient, which is the female, there be a due proportion, euen as the mariage of a giant or Ciclops with a Pigmee, can produce nothing. Moreouer, experience and necessity

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necessity doth sufficiently proue a combinacion of male and female in all creatures. As for things vegetable, as trees and plants, if vve read the Greek writers, as *Theophrast*, *Galen*, *Dioscorides*, the Arabians, as *Serapion*, *Auicenne*, *Rhasis*, *Auerbaes*, the Latines, as *Pliny* and others that haue written of the nature of plants, we shal also in trees and plants find male and female, which if they bee planted neere togither, doe shew forth a great demonstration of their naturall amity ; for the branches of the male doe naturally shooe forth towards the female ; as if they would imbrace her. O what a secret of nature is this, or rather of God, the maker of the same ! This wonderful loue of trees is more apparent in the palm tree then in any other, for if the female palm be planted neere to her male, their leaues and branches will enterioine and shut so close together, that without breaking, you shall hardly part them, as *Aluredus* a rare Authour, and one that hath written most of the nature of plants, doth report. Cōcerning the mariage and cōbination of minerals, as mettals and precious stones, the gold stands for the male, the siluer for the female, as by experience, your coulning Alcumists may find : who (as faith *Iohn the 22 Pope*) striuing to enrich others, starue theselues. *Bartolomew the Englishmā*, alias *Glanuile*, in his

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natu-

naturall worke saith : A leafe of gold ioined
vwith a leafe of siluer, if it be ioined as it ought,
the conglutination vwill be so vntited and con-
ioined, that they cannot be diuided. Likevvise
among precious stones, some are male , and
some female; as vve may see in such Authors as
haue vwritten of them: as Euax, Pliny, Marbode-
us, Albert the great, Mathew Siluatins, and
others. The auncient Poets (as Cicero vvitnes-
seth) in antiquity goe before the Philosophers,
did vs to cōteale the substance of their divine
cogitations vnder the shadow of fables: as for
example, vnder the fable of *Orpheus*, vwho des-
cended into hell to feteh forth his vvelbeloued
vwife *Eurydice*, they figured the loue that euerie
husband ought to beare to his wife: for if ma-
trimonial loue penetrateth even to hell, where
(as Job saith) eternall horror hath her habitati-
on, shal it not in reason bee far more feruent
in this vworld ? If mariage vvere had in honour
in the kingdome of *Plato*, which is the mansi-
on house of darkenesse, shall it not bee had in
greater honour in the kingdome of *Jupiter*, the
habitation of light ? Why did antiquitie faine
Jupiter, *Gamelius*, *Iuno*, and *Lucina*, to bee the
gods and goddeses of mariage and childbirth,
but only to shew that Marriage is a diuine and
sacred wworke, vwhereof both gods and god-
deses

desles ought to haue a care ? If the labourour, that by negligence suffereth his fieldes to lie barren, that otherwise wwould beare Wheate, Rye, Barlie, Oats, Pease, Beanes, or suchlike for the releefe of the Commonweale, deserueth great blame : shall not that man vwith greater reason be blamed, vwho through his owne negligence leaueth that field vntilled vwhich would bring forth and nourish men, to replenish, gouerne, and defend the Commonweale ? The fields vwhere vve sow Wheat, must haue much labour, great labour, and continual care : but the field vwhere vve sow men and vwomen, need no great trauaile, neither is there any labour therein deuoid of pleasure and incredible delight. Doth it not then stand more vwith mans liking and the benefite of the Commonweale to sow men then corne ? If thou shouldest alledge an inconuenience and say, Wheroft shall man and vwoman liue, if there bee no corne, I answe: If the generation of mankind should cease or saile, vwho shall till the earth, sow, reap, thrash or gather in the fruits of the earth ? It is good therefore to doe the one, and not leauue the other vndone: and yet of the propagation of mankind dothall the rest depend. Who shall then blame that vwhich God hath instituted, nature commanded, reason persuaded, alllear-

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ning both diuine and humane allowed, all laws
authorised, the consent of all men approued,
and from the beginning of the world to this
day put in practise. If we must loue such things
as bee honest, albeit laboursome, much rather
must we loue those things, which as they be ho-
nest, so they be pleasant and delectable. Can
there be any thing more honest then mariage,
or more delectable then carnall copulation ?
Againe, as wee cannot thinke him a good gar-
diner that can sufficiently proine and cherish
such trees as hee hath already in his Orchard,
vnlesse he bee also carefull and diligent in plan-
ting and grafting of new to succeed in the pla-
ces of those which in processe of time may wax
old and die, so cannot hee be thought a good
citizen or a maintainer of his Commonweale,
vwho contenting himself vwith his citizens now
liuing, hath no farther regard to beget any new
to supplie the roome of those that by age, sick-
nesse, wvarre, pestilence, famine, or any other
accident, happen to die. Consequently there-
fore he cannot be thought a good citizen that
taketh no care, so far as in him lieth, for the mul-
tiplying and increasing of his Commonweale.
Canst thou find any sweeter comfort in this
world, then to liue with her to whom thou art
yoked, not only by good wil, but also by a reci-
procall

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procall communication of bodies? Who so is desirous to vnderstand the great effects of the bodily coniunction, may read the verses of the ancient Poet *Lucretius* in his book of nature, as also the most learned Philosopher *Marsilius Ficinus* in his cōmentaries vpon *Platoes* banquet, where he also rehearfeth the verses of the said *Lucretius*. If we take a great delight in cōferring of our secret affairs with our friends and neighbors, how much more shal we delight to impart our cogitations to her to whō we speake as confidētly as to our selues, who also must share with vs in our wealth & wo, and doth take our good or hurt to be her own. To our other friends vve are conioined only by hearty good vwill, but to our vvives vve are euē tied by souerein charity, corporal cōmixion, sacred confederation, & inseparable cōpany and society in all kind offortune. In all other friendship there resteth much dissimulation, for friends for the most part are dissemblers & counterfeits, fitly resembled to swallowvs that keep vs cōpany alsummer, but at the cōming of the cold vvinter are gone: and indeed such friends are friends to our prosperity euē so long saith *Ouid*, as the svveet vvind of *Zephirus* blowveth on vs, but vvhē the biting cold northern wind(vvhich the Greeks term *Boreas*) begins to blow, they are quite gone, ye set no
more

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more eie on them: but the loue of a couple, honestly married, is for euer indissoluble. Of such vve haue the examples remembred in sundrie choise Authors, as among the rest the most notable loue of *Tiberius Gracchus* to his wifē *Ornelia*; vwho chose to die, that his wifē might liue: vvhether it is to be doubted vwhether were greater, her felicitie to light vpon such a one, or her calamitie to lose him. If among husbandes wee haue found *Tiberius Gracchus*: so among wivues vve may find manie more, beside those whom *Plutarch* hath collected in his booke of Renowmed wvomen; in whome wee may read the admirable affection of wvomen to their husbands. What more might vve adde to this discourse? If thou be poore, and Fortune frowne, she will comfort thee. Canst thou haue anie neerer or more amiable consolation? Is there anie pleasure comparable vwith the pleasure of marriage? If through feare, sicknesse, or anie other inconuenience, thou beeſt forced to keep thy house, thy wifē vvil ease the auoy of thy solitarinesse. If thou goest abroad, thou vvilt bee glad to leauē in thy house the person that thou best trustest. At thy departure thy wifē vvill bring thee to the dore vwith kisses, and at thy returne ſhe vyill receiue thee with callings. Thy departure vvill make her ſad, but thy returne
will

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will reioice her. At bed and at bord, vwhich are as vve say, priuiledged places, thou shalt bee as vwelcome as the bright sunne after a long raine. In thy youth shee vvill bee to thee a sweete and amiable companion, and in old age she vvill be an acceptable solace. Nature hath produced vs to liue in societie, not in solitariness like vvild beasts. *Aristotle* saith, That he that liueth solitarie is either a beast, or more then a man. What sweeter company canst thou haue then of her, vvith vvhom thou hast all things in common? Sith we see many beasts delight to liue in company, vvhat must man doe, vwho is a reasonable creature? Should vve hate any thing more then the man that is borne but for himselfe onely? Who doth nothing but for himselfe, neither liueth but for himselfe: Such a man deserueth to be sequestred from the society of all men, & vvith Timon, be cast into the deepest gulf of the Ionique sea, there to be food to the Tritons, Mermaids, and other the monsters of the sea. Again, by marriage a mā multiplieth in friends, affinitie, kindred and neighbourhoođ (vwhich is no small matter:) His brethren, sisters, nephewes, and nieces, doe grow double. Neither doe I speake of the great and soueraigne benefite of peace that groweth betwene Monarchs and great Princes by marriage, yet by

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experience vvee find that there is no peace so
firme as the same vvhich groweth hereof. So
long as Iulia the daughter of Julius Cæsar, and
wvife to Pompey, liued, the Romane Empire
enioied peace; but vpon her death the inextin-
guible fire of ciuile wvar kindled and subuerted
their Commonweale. Vpon the life of the said
Princesse depended the tranquilitie of the Ro-
mane Empire, yea euen of the whole world, as
appeared soone after her decease. What benefit
and felicity had the Romanes reaped of that
mariage, if it had long continued? And vpon
the expiration thereof, into vwhat calamity and
ruine did they fall? In this terrestriall wworld is
there any thing more to be desired then peace,
vwithout the vwhich all vwealth is but pouerty, al
joy sorrow, and all life very death? Moreouer,
proceeding in our principall purpose, Among
other the felicities of marriage, vwho can ex-
presse the comfort of the father that feeth his
little children playing before him? *Socrates* the
Philosopher, by the Oracle of Apollo deemed
the vviseſt man of his time, rode vpon a sticke
among little children? Octavius Cæsar Augu-
ſtus ſo farre abased the imperiall grauit, as to
play with little children at cobnut, as I haue ſet
down in my dedicatory epiftle of my hundred
conſiderations of loue. But O good God! what

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a ioy is it to the father to see his liuely portraiture abridged in the face of his children, & the same so liuely, that Lysippus, Mentor, Policleitus, Phidias, Praxiteles, Zeuxis, Appelles, or Parrhasius could neuer paint or work the like. When thy children grow great (if they proue as they ought) they wil be a staffe to thy old age, a prop to thy vweakenesse, and a pillar to thy house. By the course of nature outliving thee, at thy death they shall close thine eies, provide for thy funerals, and performe the ceremonies therein requisite. It is a goodly matter for a man to die among his owne. Octauius Augustus aforenamed, desired to die in the bosome, euuen betweene the armes of his so wwelbeloued wifē, the faire and learned Livia Drasilla. Againe, being married, doest thou make no account of thy vviues industrie about her huswiferie? Whē thou sleepest many times shee vvatcheth, shee spinneth, she soweth, she laboureth and goeth vp and downe the house, as carefull vwith great diligence to keepe that vwhich thou hast gotten with great labour. I will not speak of linnen, which is one of the most necessary and cleaniest things belonging to housshould. Will not a man delight to eat at the cloth, and lie in the sheets which his wife hath spun and sowed. Wome haue time out of mind ben very famous for

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their

their good spinning, sowing, and needlework :
and not only wwomen of meane and base cal-
ling, but euен the vviues and daughters of Em-
perours, Kings, and Princes. *Varro* an Authour
of great authority, whom Saint *Augustine* in
his Citie of God accounteth the best learned
of all the Latines, reporteth that in his time at
Rome in the Temple of Ancus Martius , they
kept the distaffe and spindles of the princesse
Tanaquille, vwith the remainder of the vwooll
vwhereof shee had spunne the royll robe that
Seruius Tullius vvore. Neither vwill it bee amisse
here to make mention of the Heathen Lawe,
vwhich forbade wwomen to spinne as they vval-
ked the streets and common high vvaies. And
eue at this day some there be so fantasticall, that
they thinke it ominous to meet a wwoman spin-
ning, vnlesse immedately shee plucke her dis-
taffe from her side. This matter putteth mee in
mind to vwrite one thing vworthy the noting,
vwhich is this : The two greatest Monarchs that
euer vvere, namely, Alexander the great, and
Octavius Augustus(vnder vwhose Empire our
fauour Iesus Christ vouchafed to be born) ne-
uer vvore other robes then the same that their
vviues, daughters, or sisters had spunne, vvar-
ped, vvouen, and sowed. At the making of the
league betweene the Romanes & the Sabines,
and

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and their Kings Romulus and Tatius, among other things it vvas decreed, that the Sabine vviues should not be forced to any labour, but to spinne, yveaue, and sow. The auncient Iberians vsually caused their vviues to bring into a publicke place the cloth that they had spunne, and there she that had made the finest & best, vvas among the rest had in greatest honor, and rewarded. This discourse putteth me in mind that I haue read in the vyorkes of the noble Poet *Claudian*, that the Princesse Serena sister to the two Romane Emperours, Arcadius and Honorius, sent to her said brother Arcadius to Constantinople (vwhich vwas then the seat of the Empire) the bards and caparrison of a horse very artificially vvtrought vwith her needle, and embrodered and purphiled vwith her owne hand, as also certain other most excellent cloths to her brother Honorius. Neither can I vwell tell vwhich hand most to commend, vwhether the said Princesse hand that vvtrought so vwell, or the manlike hand of the Poet *Claudian* that hath so vwell and eloquently set downe the presentatiue Epigram of the said gift. But to end this disputation, If Lots daughters shamed not to commit most horrible incest vwith their father, for feare least they should die vwithout issue, vwhat shall euery vwise man doe, that by
John. 11. 10.

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mariage may haue propagation and issue without committing sinne against God , or incurring infamy vwith the vworld ? What man I pray you may iustly reprooue matrimony, sith the lawes both of God and man doe thereunto exhort vs , nature induce vs , honesty allure vs , infinite commodities invite vs ; all Nations lead vs the vvay ; and lastly , necessitie of perpetuating our kind dooth inforce vs ? Adam our first father vvas maried by Gods owne hand : Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and his sonnes, Moses, Iosue, and all the Patriarkes and Prophets; Aron, Eleazar, Hely, Samuel, and all the Priests of the Iewish law : Saule, Dauid, Salomon, and the rest of the kings of the Iewes : All the Babilonian, Assyrian, Persian, Median, Grecian & Romane Monarkes . Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Plutarch, and all the Philosophers, except a few Sinnenickes were married, and held Matrimony in great reuerence. Now therefore it only remai-neth that vve answere such principles as are al-ledged to the contrary, which by one only answere may be confuted. Those Philosophers & Poets that contemned mariage were Ethnicks, and blinded in their owne wisedome, or rather folly, vwanting the knowledge of the truth that God hath since vouchsafed to reueale vnto vs , neither is it any meruaile that they erred in the

contempt

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contempt of matrimony, sith they erred in the knowledge of the souerain good, vwhereto they could neuer attaine, I meane not in this worke to vwrite any satire against them, the rather for that the most learned and most eloquent Author *Laetantius Firmian* hath strained the sinews of his eloquence in his divine iustitutions, in confutation of their said vaine wisdome, and to him I referre thee. As a bad raine bringeth more barrennesse then plentie, so the controuersies of the Philosophers, who (as *Lucian* saith) could neuer agree among thēselues, hath bred amōg men more confusion then doctrine. The wine of vworldly vvisedome breedeth more drunkennesse then vvisedome, it puffeth vp, but satisfieth not, and procureth more ingurgitation then comfort. Saint *Augustine* the Eagle of all Ecclesiasticall Doctors, did alwaies preferre the Platonists before all other Philosophers, as approching neerest to Christian truth. But vvee shall neuer find that *Plato* or any of his schollers contemned Marriage; but rather extolling it, imposed a penaltie vpon such as vwould not marrie, as appeareth in the sixt Dialogue of his Lawes. Now to the end, as vwell the Husband as the Wife, may reciprocally knowe how to beare themselues in the gouernment of their family, I haue thought good

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good to bring into an Epilogue the duties as
vvell of the one, as of the other.

The duties of the Husband toward his Wife.



He duties of the Husband tow-
ward the vwife being reduced
into an Epitome, are ffeue : The
firſt, That euery Husband be-
vvare that he iniure not his vwife
in vword or deed, but rather to praise, honor,
and loue her: for honouring his vwife, he hono-
reth himſelfe. The Lawyer ſaith, That maried
vviues are & muſt be beautified vvith the beams
of their Husbands, and the Husband muſt be
he that muſt ſet others an example hovv to ho-
nour his vwife, vvhich if he doe, he ſhall induce
his vwife to honour him, but if doing the con-
trary hee offer her iniurie, ſhee vwill thereoſt take
occation to practife againſt him and his honor.
Among good Authors, vvee find the examples
hereoſt more plentifull then raine in Februarie.
But the ſole memorabla example of Clitem-
nestra the vwife of Agamemnon, ſhall content
vs for this time, vwho being iniuried by her hus-
band, and meaning to reuenge the iniury, com-
mitted Adultery, and finally conſented to the
death of her ſaid Husband Agamemnon. It is
a com-

a common Prouerbe, Spight me and I will anger thee. Now is there nothing in the vyord more spightfull then a vwoman, namely, if she knoweth her selfe to be iniured , and that her husband doth vwithout cause entreat her hardly. It is also another common Prouerbe, Anger thy dogge too much , and he vwill bite thee. Euery vvife husband therefore must take heed that he iniure not his vvife, neither vse her hardly, By too much straining, the Eele oftentimes scapeth away. Ulisses so vwell intreated his vvife Penelope, that thereupon she kept vnto him her plighted faith during his long absence, notwithstanding she had many occasions to haue dealt otherwise . The like law may likewise take place concerning seruants, male or female, vvhom their Maisters should not vvrong. For euery Maister is to remember that his seruant is the creature of God, as wel as himselfe, & that in the Maisters house the seruant should be as in a sanctuarie and place of safetie, vwhere no man should haue vvrong. The auncients had a priuate and domesticall god, vvhom they termed the god Lar, vyhich in our language vve may interpret the god of the hearth : him they held in such reuerence, that if any had fled to the hearth , albeit in the house of his capitall enemie, yet durst not his enemie haue offered

him anie violence, no not in his owne house; For there he vvas as in a place of priuiledge & franchise. By such meanes vvas Themistocles the Athenian (a vvise and most valiant Prince) sauued, for being banished Athens, he fled to the hearth of his capitall enemie, who durst not there vvrong or strike him. The hearth vvas dedicated and sacred to the goddesse Vesta, who had her holy place vvhile the cheefe fire of the house vvas made. If then vve be forbidden to vse violence to our enemie that flieth to our hearth, also that our seruaunts male or female haue interest in our hearth, and thereupon (as also by the sentence of the Pithagorists) we are forbidden to doe them vvrong, hovv much rather should the husband beware of offering violence to his vvife, who next to himselfe, is the principal person of his bed, his table, his hearth, yea euen of all his house?

The second dutie of the Husband toward his Wife.



He second dutie that the husband ovveth toward his wife, is this: That he forbear the carnal company of any other but his vvife, for otheirwise if his vvife knowve it, he shal entangle himselfe in a more inextricabile

ble Labyrinth then the same of Porsena or De-
dalus, neither vwill shée euer affoord him good
looke, but rather practise to reuenge and quit
him with the like ; as thinking she hath good
cause to breake with her husband, sith he brea-
keth with her. The wiues suspition of her hus-
bands incontinencie, or his of hers, breedeth a
most greeuous passion, or rather a fury or rage,
vwhich vve tearme iealousie. The Philosopher
Chrysippus making a descriptiō of iealousie faſt,
Iealousie is a disease of the mind, proceeding of
fear, leaſt that be imparted to another which we
would not haue cōmon to any but our ſelues.
The diuines do ſay that iealousie is iengendred of
loue, which will not admit any cōpanion in the
thing beloved. In reading the best Authors, vve
ſhal find, that of al nations the Parthians are the
moſt iealous of their wiues, whervpō the wōmē
going out at dores, do neuer ſhew their faces or
ſtomacks, & ſuch as be of good calling, goe in
cloſe vailles, that they may not be ſeene. Pope
Pius the 2 in his deſcription of certaine naturall
baths of Germany, where himſelfe was preſent,
did much maruel at the familitary of the Dutch-
wōmē, who would euē in preſence of their huſ-
bands ſtep naked into the baths among men.
He ſaith moreouer, that ther is not in the world
any Nation leſſe iealous then the Germanes,

albeit their vvomen bee most loueraigne faire. The English doe suffer their vvives to be merry in tauernes vwithout suspition. But by the testimonie of the same *Æneas Siluius*, The Italians contrariwise are as iealous as any, of their vvo-mē; I wil not say that such as follow that haunt, are as bad for their boies also. The authors truth is not much to be suspected, for himselfe vvas an Italian of Sienna. In matter of iealousie vve haue of both sorts. *Plutarch* in his booke, hovv a man may learne to take profite of vertue, saith that perfect carnall loue vvas never free from iealousie ; also as enuie is a prouocation to vertue, so is iealousie a spurre to perfect loue. *Plinius* in his natural historie, and after him *Solinus*, doe report, that of all beasts the vwild Asse, by the Greeks called Onager, is the most iealous: For in a vvhole Heard of females, there is but one male, and he is so iealous, that he vvill not suffer anie other but himselfe among them: Besides, vwhen the female chaunceth to haue a male colt, the fire vwith his teeth vvill bite of his generoties, as fearing he should couer his dam. Yet for the preseruation of their kind, Nature hath taught the females to make their young ones in so close a corner, that the male shall not find them in hast, otherwise their kind must soone perish.

Sith vvee must declaine against Ialousie,
what difference betweene hanging in a silken
halter, and a hempon halter, Is the paine of the
one lesse than the other? Or is the death the ea-
sier? He is a starke foole, vwhat doe I say a foole?
Euen a mad man , that vvillingly putteth his
feet in the stockes , yea vvere they of massie
gold. When the Romane Emperour Valerian
(by the commandement of Sapore, King of
Persia) vvas bound in golden chaines, vvas he
at more ease then if they had ben of yron? It is
not the silken counterpoint, neither the tester
& valence of frized gold, or the Velvet, Sattin,
or Damaske curtaines that make a mā to sleep
more sweetly, then if the whole furniture were
of say or broad cloth. If thy heart be in care, thy
mind vvill be troubled vvith melancholy: if thy
vvife be faire, she vvill mend thy bed, but thy
thoughts vvill be more troubled :if on the one
side her beautie pleaseth and comforteth thee,
on the other it vvill hurt thee. Thy ialousie
and care how to keepe her, blotteth out the
pleasure that thou takest in lying vvith her,
and many times thou iealous foole,in thy heart
thou vvilt say, O honey vvilt thou neuer be free
from gaule?

The third dutie of the Husband towards his Wife.



Between the husband and the wife, as concerning carnall copulation, there must bee such a moderation, that there bee no vwant vwhen they are togither, as also that they bee able to forbear vwhen they be asunder: yet must they so beare themselues that as vwell absent as present the one may be cōtent vwith the other. The ground of this law is this, If they vse it too much vwhen they are togither, they shal hardly forbear vwhen they be asunder, for custome is another nature. Maried wwiues doe sometimes, and not vwithout cause, complain of their husbands that find cause to abridge their wwiues of their coniugall dutie, vnder colour of deuotion: others that alledge the dog daies, vvhether in the powers are greatly dissolued, and therefore is nature then vweak: others that they are sicke, and therefore must goe into the country to take the aire: others vpon friuolous occasions lie asunder: but such euasions doe but minister occasion to the wwife to seeke her fortune elsewhere; and to borrow of such a one as if neither the feare of God, nor his own honor doestraine him, feare not the *Egyptian Canicular*

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niculer daies, neither the course of the Moone. Pliny in his naturall historie saith, That man is in Winter more prone to carnall copulation, & wyoman in summer. The same said Hesiodus before; and his commenter, vwho forming a reason for it, saith, That man is naturally vwhite & drie, and the summer being likewise white and drie, drieth him vp the more, and so consumeth his courage, vwhich maketh him the more vnvvilling thereto: That wyoman is naturally cold and moist, as is likevise vvinter, and that the moisture and cold of vvinter maketh her more cold and moist, and consequently lesse apt to the said action. Furthermore, that the fittest and most conuenient time for generatio is the spring, as being in qualities more temperate. Againe, wyomen are tenne times more subiect to these things then men, especially vwhen they are vvith child, for then the seed conceiued, moueth the simeyss, vwhich by confircation moueth the appetite and desire. Carnall comixtion (saith el-sus) must be neither too much nor too little, slow and rare raieth the body, but too often pulleth it downe. For little or much, nature teacheth sufficienly, vvhō the wyse man that loues his life vvill never veke. The night is the fittest & safest time, and the vvinter better then the summer. Immediately after the action, all labour is hurtfull, and

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and rest is fittest: but to vse it immediately after meat is very vnwholesome, because the concus-sion and motion requisit, corrupteth digesti-on. A Greeke Philosopher saith, So much time as a man spendeth in that action, so much doth he cut off fro his life. All vwindic meat, as Pease, Beanies, Lintils, Raddish, Turneps, &c. do pro-uoke, and in that regard such as had vowed vir-ginitie or chasteitie, were forbidden to eat the same, as in old time the Vestall Virgines & such others, that purposed to preserue their chastity as *Plutarch* in his Romanie problemes doth re-port. The same Authour in his booke of natu-ral things doth say, That satietie is the compa-nion of lust, and the hungry man is verie vnsit thereunto, so he must be well fed, for of abun-dance of food groweth plentie of feed. Wee haue a common Proverbe, The full paunch is readie to dance. The Poet saith, Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus qualeth. True it is neuer-thelesse, that excelsiuе eating and drinking, make a man vnsit for generation. Aristotle in his Proverbes saith, That the drunken man can not engender, neither is his seed fruitfull: and that vvas it that mad Alexander vnable to en-gender, for hee vsed to bee drunke, as *Plutarch* saith in his booke of the preseruation of health: albeit the same Authour seeketh to excuse him

of

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of drunckenesse in his booke of the vertue and
fortunes of **Alexander**. Of Alexanders drunckenesse and intemperancie, hath the learned
Celius in the 30 Chapter of his 15 booke of
Auncient readings, spoken at large. **Pliny** in
Authour of great auctoritie in the fift of the
foureteenth of his Naturall hystorie saith, That
through drunckenesse Alexander vvhich was
owne hand slew many of his friends. Ven
is also to old men hurtfull, and to them that be
decrepit, rancke poysone : because being drie,
the same drieth them more. The aforesnamed
great Alexander vvhile his Parasites persua-
ded him to thinke himselfe a god, said, That by
two things especially he knew himselfe to be a
man and no god, namely, by sleepe and carnal
lusts. **Socrates** being old and crooked, gaue
thankes to old age that it had freed him from
the bondage of a furious lord, that vvas, his ap-
petite and carnall desires.

The fourth dutie of the Husband toward his Wife:



He fourth dutie of the Husband to
his Wife is this, Let him that min-
deth to marrie, marrie a Virginie ra-
ther then a wyidow, in case heelist
to bring his wife to his Law, and

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frame her to his owne conditions, vthereto he shall not so easily winne her that hath ben married, in that she hath before framed her selfe to the conditions of her first husband, or him that had her maidenhead. This Law is taken out of the auncient Poet *Hesiodus*, vwho vsed this sentence.

*Let him that his wife to his bent will draw,
Match with a virgine, and keepe her in aw.*

True it is, *Hesiodus* might haue done vwell if he had to his former speeches added this which followeth:

*Yet many times the most subtle and slye,
In such like hazards are matched awry.*

The Romanes vsed vwith the crown of chastity (as they termed it) to crowne such viues as after their husbands deaths, liued in perpetuall vwidowhead: vthereto the Storke, Doue, and Turtle did invite them, vwho after the losse of their mate (male or female) kept perpetuall continency and vwidowhead: in regard vther of Nature hath vouchsafed to adorne them vwith a small circle or collar of speciall feathers, that they vveare about their neckes as a reward for their continency and chastity. The Author of the booke, termed by the Greeke vword

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Phisilogus, reporteth, that it is a matter tried and experimented, that after the Turtle hath lost her mate, she neuer brancheth vpō a green bough, but alwaies seeketh the seare and wythered (vwhich is a wonderfull secret in nature) therein declaring her sorrow and heauiness. As for that vherof *Hesiodus* speaketh of the wifes conformity to her husbands conditions ; reason requireth that as the sensual appetite ought to conforme it selfe to reason, and not reason to it, so is euery honest vvoman to conforme her selfe to her husbands conditions , not her husbands to hers . This contynency among the rest, did the vwise Romane *Valeria* the sister of the *Messalus* obserue , of whom the Poet *Tibullus* in many of his vworkes against such as hauing ben maried and fallen into wydowhead, and marie againe, dooth make most honourable mention. Hereof did the young *Beroaldus* make a double meeter , vwhich in regard it is so vwell compact, deserueth to be here inserted:

*Qui semel vxorem duxit, querit quae secundam,
Naufragus ille iterum naufragium sequitur.*

The meaning whereof vve haue after a sort set downe in the verse following:

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That man that once from mariage free,
yet hasteth to that paine,
The wracked man resembleth much,
that wrecke doth seeke againe.

The fist duty of the Husband toward his Wife.



He fist dutie of the Husband to his Wife is this, That as the manners of the married must not bee proud and arrogant, so must not their garments and attire shewe any token of presumption or disguisedement, exceeding the bounds of honestie : for such disguisedement in apparrell, better besemeth plaiers of tragedies, satires, or comedies, which in our language vve tearme moralities, follies, and enterludes. Now if the husband be to obserue modestie in his apparrell, much more the woman, and the rather because vve doe plainly see, that Nature hath alwaies beautified the male aboue the female. As among foure footed beasts, the horse is alwaies faire, and by nature better set forth then the mare : among Foules the Peacocke in his feathering doth farre surpass the Pehenne, the dunghill cocke the henne, &c. It is a great abuse for a woman to seeke to please her husband rather in her apparel,

tell, then her vertues. For to bee chaste, discreet, diligent, and faithfull to her husband, is farre more to be esteemed then to be vwell apparellled, combed, decked vp and painted. And I could vyish euery married wife to take example in the discreet answere of Cornelia, a Romane Ladie, and wifte to Paulus Æmilius, and the same to wrighte in her heart: This it vvas, On a certaine time another Ladie shewed to the said Cornelia her Rings, Jewels, Precious stones, Tires, Robes and Garments, desiring her likewise to shew hers, Cornelia said shee wwould, but she must tarrie vntill her children came from schoole. They being come, shee tooke her by the hand and said, Ladie, These (shewing her little ones wwell brought vp and nurstured) be my Rings, my Jewels, my Precious stones, my Garments, and my Delights, wwhich I esteeme aboue all the Stones, Gold, and Siluer in the wworld. Xenophen in his ordering of a houſhold saith, As in the inward manners there must bee no diſembling, so in the outward apparell there must be no diſſolute-nesſe, for the garments must concurre with the manners. Otherwile it is as in the Theatres among plaiers of Enterludes and Tragedies, wwhere sometimes the Artificer ſhall act the perfonage of Agamemnon or Cæſar, and be ap-

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parelled in purple vwith a crowne on his head,
yet vnder all this rich attire hee shall be but an
artificer or meane person. Vpon this speech
we are to note, that Alexander in his geniall
daies and the fift booke, reporteth that in old
time in Rome honest wyomen vvere knowne
from harlots by their haire ; for the honest
vwould haue their haire blacke, but the disso-
lute and harlots, yellow, or flaxen : And she
vh o by nature could not haue such as were re-
quisite , vwould very artificially counterfeit
them: neither vwill any thing make haire more
blacke then the iuice of the inward barke of
Walnuts vwhile they bee new , and that it is a
die vwhich vwill not bee easily vvashed away:
vwhereof also the sweet Poet Tibullus hath
made mention in his Elegies. In our daies the
Ladies of the Court haue accounted a blacke
haire to be a great beauty, and for that purpose
did make great vse of leaden combes . Arnald
de villa Nova, for making of flaxen haire, hath
made much adoe in his booke of painting and
adorning of wyomen ; vwhich I haue here set
down, because some wyoman reading our
writings , may peraduenture stand in need of
our aduertisement : Whom if it should so fall
out, I vwould send to the booke of the said Au-
thour: but if she understand no Latine, yet let
her

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her get some friend of hers to translate it, for therein shal she find many good experiments, as vwell for her haire and breasts, as for other her more secret parts. Furthermore, Because the superfluity and ouer-rich pompe of garments, especially of wyomen, may be pernicious to euery Commonweale (for husbands do for the most part so dote in the loue of their vviues, that they morgage and sell their inheritance to put it vpon their vviues backes and heads) we are to note that the Athenians endeouored to prouide against such superfluity and disorder in garments, whyn in their Commonweale they created officers (by a Greeke vwoord, 'tearmed Gyneconomes') vwho had in charge to see that the Athenian vviues vscd no greater pompe in iewels and garments, then might stand with the estate of their husbands: as also they vvere by their authority to punish as vwell the husbands as the vviues that transgressed their order. The Romanes did in part imitate the Greekes, for at Rome their Censors had like auctoritie and charge, as the *Gyneconomes* at Athens. Marcus Oppius, and T. Romuleius, Tribunes of the people, made a Lawe concerning the modestie of wyomens apparrell and iewels, vwhen Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius vvere Consuls, even in

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in the cheefest heat of the Punicke wvarre, and thereby reduced the Romane commonyeale to greater felicitie. M. Fundanius, and L. Valerius, Tribunes, endeououred to abolish the said Law *Oppia*, alledging that vpon the ceasing of the publicke calamitie, the severitie of the law ought also to cease. But against them M. Cato made a most eloquent oration, as vve may read in the fourth Decade of Titus Liuius. The Venetians, men of great prouidence and forecast, haue euuen to this day certaine officers expressly auuthorised in like charge, as the Athenians and Romaines, to restraine and moderate the excesse in apparrell, iewels and embroderie of wwomen, as Will Postell reporteth in his Athenian commonweale, dedicated to Poyet, late chancellor of France. The French men are loth to be behind in like prouidence, for in the daies of Charles the sixt there was an edict published for reformation of apparrell, as likewise there was (vwhiles I wrot this booke) another published by king Henry the second.

Now after the duties of the Husband to the Wife, vve must consequently proceed to the duties of the Wife to her Husband, to the end our present discourse may be euery wway accōplished.

The first dutie of the Wife towards her Husband.



He first dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this : That shee take the care and charge of all domēsticall businesse that privately and perticularly belongs to her house, and so become Mistresse and Governesse of the same : referring to her Husband the charge and care of all things vwithout the dores. The maried Wife is to haue the rule and ouersight of the housshould, that is, her huswifrie ; because the practise thereof is more conuenient and fit for her sexe, then for her Husband : I meane not of such base matters as fit not her calling, as the sweeping of the house, the washing of the dishes, scouring of pots and such like, vwhich are to bee performed by the seruants or skullions , not by the mistresses : vwhereagainst the Romane law tooke order, vwhich ordained that honest Romane viuves should be exempt from grinding, kneading, baking, and playing the skuls in the kitchen, for so shold the estate of an honest huswife be abased and grow into contempt. Well, the duty of the honest maried vwife, is to take the charge and ouersight of the domesticall affaers.

as is aforesaid , and to keepe her selfe vwithin dores, and not to gad abroad. For vwhat hath an honest woman to do roming vp and down the streets, sith shee hath not to doe vwith any thing vwithout the dores ? Is it for a husbandman to prate and discourse in Schooles and Colledges, vwhere there is nothing for him to lonke vpon or to do ? The Beotians had a custome, that vwhen the bride first entred her husbands house, she should bring in one hand wa-
ter, in another fire : But vwhat meant that misterie ? The meaning vvas, that as fire purgeth, & vwater cleanseth ; so the wife must be pure and chast, washed and purged from all reproch: al-
beit both in my Metamorphoses , and in this book I haue otherwise expounded it. The Ara-
bians, Grecians, and Italians doe vsually keepe their wiues shut vp in their houses , almost as prisoners , and now likewise the Turks, as *Antony Geffrey* in his new historie of Turkie doth report . The Germanies and French doe giue their wiues liberty to goe vwhere they list. *Gil-
bert Grap* in his Oeconomicall Commentaries saith, That in Gascoine the wiues are in no sub-
jection at all, but gad vp and downe at their pleasures like the ancient Amazons: but I haue had more conuersation among them then he,
yet did I never see that they had more libertie
then

then other vvomen. Before I end this particuler, vve are to note, that *Diodore* the Sicilian in his histories doth report, That *Isis Queene of Ægypt* made a law, that vpon the mariage day the husband should take a solemne oath betweene his wiues hands, that hee should not meddle with any housshould affaires, and the wifelikewise betweene her husbands hands, that shee should never entermeddle vwith anie forren affaires or businesse.

The second dutie of the wife towards her husband.

THe second dutie of the wifē to the Husband, is this : That shee suffer not any to come into the house without expresse licence or commandement of her husband: for euerie honest vvoman is to feare the common report that is made of the wantonnesse of women, & must endeour to her power to make the euill speakers (that can sing no other song but the incontinency of vvomen) liers: as also shee is to conceale all domesticall vvants, and not to publish them abroad. Bearing her selfe in this manner, if any reproch or dishonour shoud fall out by any that commeth in, the blame shoud light vpon her husband, and not vpon her.

The third dutie of the Wife toward her Husband.

THe third dutie is this : That shee ouersee the housshold expences, namely, vpon the solemne and feastiuall daies, but so as her husband give her leaue. The reason of this dutie is grounded vpon this, That the wife shall thinke vpon many small trifles and businesse of the house, vwhich the husband cannot in honour looke into, as linnen both for the table and the bed; besides, she shall sooner find out the craft and deceit of seruants, men or women, then her husband. Of such deceits of seruants hath the Comicall Poet *Terence* vvritten most eloquently, as also of late daies *Aeneas Silvius*, since called *Pius* the second, in his small tract of the loues of Eurialus and Lucretia. Another reason may be this, that vpon feastiuall daies they commonly vse a more bountifull diet then vpon vworking daies, and then if the vvife haue the ordering of the expence, she vvill be more sparing then her husband. For the womankind (but I know no reason for it) is more nigardly then the masculine: and then albeit the vvife be more hard then her husband, yet shall no such hardnesse be a reproch to her, as it vwould be to her husband.

The fourth dutie of the Wife toward her Husband.

THe fourth dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this; That she be not so sumptuous in her apparell as the law or custome of the countrie dooth permit: And the rather, because rich embroderie and precious cloths, or bodily beautie, are no such commendation to a wwoman, as modestie, which consists both in deeds, words, gesture, and garments. The gorgeous attire of wwomen, doe make men more dissolute and bent to lust, namely, when they build wide windowes for their breasts, and give their eies liberty to wander. The open breasts, the naked stomacke, the frizeld haire, and especially the wanton eie, and lasciuious or shamelesse countenance, are the forerunners of Adulterie: If you will not beleue me, read *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, and *Ouid*, and you shall find it so.

The fist duty of the Wife to her Husband.

THe fist dutie of the Wifeto her husband is this, That in all forraine affaires and businesse shee entermeddle not, neither take anie ouersight, but reserue the same to the diligent

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care of her husband, contenting her selfe vwith
the administration and gouernement of her
houshold businesse. The ground of this dutie
is this, That as it beseemeth not the husband to
meddle in the trifling businesse of the house, so
is it as vnseemly for the vvoman to take the ad-
ministration and dealing in forraigne affaires In
this regard hath nature formed the body of the
woman more delicate, weak, and of lesse force
then the mans, that shee should not busie her
selfe in such affaires as need to bee followed
abroad or managed without dores: but the bo-
dy of man she hath made more rough, strong,
and boisterous, to the end hee should bee able
to trauell vp and downe in the wind and raine,
and many times in forraign countries to get a li-
uing as well for himselfe as his family, vwhich he
could never do to his good, were his body de-
licat, tender and vnable to bear out the toile, as
his wiues is. O good God! how hath nature pro-
uided? or rather God himselfe her Creator?

The sixt duty of the Wife towards her Husband.

T'He sixt dutie of a woman to her husband
is this: That she wholly obey her husband,
euен in those things that concerne forraign
businesse, and without dores. Yet we doe read
of some maried wiues among the Romanies of
such

such impudency & rashnesse, that leauing their housshold affaires they aduentured to runne to the hals & iudgement seats at Rome to plead, and contrary to all duty of honesty, to practise the office of aduocats, as among others Ame-sia, Hortensia, and Afrania. And albeit some commended their courage, eloquence, and ready wits, yet did more contemne their impudence and rashnesse, and among a fewe that praised them, they found an infinite number of reproouers. Euen for the honestie of the feminine sexe, I vwill not speake of the report of the Lawyer in the Pandects, cōcerning the shamelesse Calphurnia, and the part that shee plaied as plaintiff. Againe, No honest married wife is to deale in the affaires of the Commonweale, much lesse to meddle with making of marriages, vnalesse for her owne children and seriants, vwherinh she must also referre her selfe to the discretion of her husband, least shee incurre the name of a harebraine.

The seuenth dutie of the Wife to her Husband.

THe seuenth dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this: That she account the condicions of her Husband to be the lawes of her life. These, if they bee good, shee must vwholly imitate

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imitate, if bad, she must patiently beare them, for in so doing, shée shall order her housshold vwell; if contrariwise, euill.

The eight dutie of the Wife to her Husband.

THe eight dutie of the married Wife to her Husband is this: That she loue, esteeme, & honour him; that she loue him as her selfe, that she esteeme him as from vvhom shee taketh all her credite and honour, that shee honour him as her liefest lord, not in prosperitie onely, but also in aduersitie. If her husband chance to be poor, needie, diseased, or otherwise distraught, she must not therefore deride him, as *Jobs* wife did, neither taunthim as the good and holy man *Tobias* vwife did, but shée ought alwaies to vse him with gentle words, & to cherish him as a part of her owne bodie: So if God afterward blesse him vwith vwealth, or restore him to health, if he be not a very beast, hee vwill thinke himselfe much beholding to his vwife for her attendance in his sicknesse, or for bearing vwith his vvants in his pouertie. Besides, that the wife is to consider, that vertue cannot bee so vwell knowne in prosperitie, as in aduersitie. The good seaman is neuer knowne in a calme, but vwhen the sea is troubled, and in the storme.

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The good Captaine or Souldior sheweth his valour in the field, and the good Phisition his skill vwhen the disease is in most force. Virtue, (saith the Prouerbe) is in prosperity blafted, but flouriſheth in aduersity. Prosperity (sayth the Philosopher) purchaseth friends, but aduersity trieth them. Each wiſe Wife is to consider, that the vertuous *Alceſt*, and chauſt *Penelope*, had neuer purchased their eternall glory, had their husbands *Admetus* and *Vliffes* ben alwaies fortunate : for their misfortunes vvrought their Wiues good in the purchase of their good names and immortall fame. I vvill not speake of the vvidome of *Andromache* and *Hiphiias*, vwho ſhall liue in glory ſo long as the vvorkeſ of *Homer* and *Ouid* ſhall remaine. Neither vvill I, to cloſe vp this diſcourse, let paſſe the report of *Atheneus*, concerning a vwoman called *Theana*, vwho being demanded vwhat maried Wife deſerued commendation, anſwered, She that medleth only vwith her rocke and ſpindle, that loueth only her husbands bed, and keepeth her tongue in quiet. In the Catalogue of honeſt maried wiues, vve read of *Euadue* the wife of *Capaneos*, the aforenamed *Alceſt* and *Penelope*, and *Laomedia* the vwife of *Proteſilaus*. Of the Romane vviues that yet liue in good name, vve haue *Caia* the vwife of *Tarquin*,

quin, Lucrece the wife of Colatine, Portia the
vvife of Brutus, Sulpitia the vvife of Patercu-
lus, Æmilia the vvife of Scipio, and Iulia the
vvife of Pompey. Of strangers and Barbarians
all the Sibils, of whom *Varro* and *Lactantius*
make honourable mention, as also Saint Augu-
stine in his City of God. Many Amazons haue
ben famous, as vwell for valour as chasteitie. *Ca-
milla* deserued to be commended in *Virgils*
verses, as did also *Cassandra*, King *Priamus*
daughter. The Sabine vvives, both by Poets
and Historiographers, haue been famous for
their chasteitie, sobrietie, and diligence. What
els shall vve say? The vvives of Sparta are re-
ported in the feminine sexe to haue masculine
cources. How deereley did *Hipsicrates* loue
her husband *Mithridates*, and *Artemisia Mau-
solus*? What courage and skill in Armes had
Thomiris the Queene of Scythia, and *Semira-
mis* Queene of the Assyrians? To speake of
learned vvomen, *Corinna*, *Sapho*, *Aspasia*, *Arcia*,
Cleobula, Queene *Zenobia*, and *Cleopatra*, haue
by learning made their sexe famous. *Hor-
tenia* and *Cornelia* are accounted among the
cheefe Oratours of Rome. *Paulina* and *Pola*
the vvives of *Stacea* and *Lucan*, shall for
doctrine liue vwith all posterity. *Textor* in
his Officie maketh notable mention of the
lear-

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learning and vertue of a Ladie of Millane,
named *Triulce*, vwho in our time vvas vwell
seen in all good letters. What shall vve say
to the knowledge and ripe vvit of *Margare-*
ret of Valois, late Queen of Nauarre, as
her vworkes vwill for euer testifie vnto all po-
sterity, and I haue more amplie and at
large declared in my Consolatorie Epistle
vpon her deceasse, directed to the renow-
med and most noble Prince and Lord An-
thonie of Bourbon, Duke of Vandomsme. If
vvee should here bring in such as not long
before the daies of our fathers, haue shew-
ed their courage and skill in Armes, *Margar-*
ret the vwife of *Henrie* the sixt of that name,
King of England, in a pitched field recon-
uered the victorie vwhich her husband had
lost through pusillanimity. I vwill not speake
of the vertue, valour, or chastity of *Joane*
the Puselle (vwho expelled the English out
of France, and by valour and force of armes
restored *Charles* the seventh into his royall
seat and Kingdome) because most Historio-
graphers, both French and forren, haue so
largely and eloquently spoken thereof, that
I shall not need to say any more thereof : Be-
sides that the Poet *Valerand* hath very elo-
quently vritten thereof in Heroicall verse,

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of whose worke, notwithstanding vwhatsoeuer diligence, I could neuer recouer but some fragments.

Of the institution and bringing vp of children.



Auing intreated of Parents, lyuee
are consequently to proceed to the
children. Of the institution of chil-
dren and their bringing vp, many
excellent Authours both Greekes
and Latines, old and new, haue vrritten sun-
dry discourses. Of the Greekes, *Plato*, and *Ari-
stotle* in his Politickes, *Xenophon* in his first
booke of the schoole of *Cyrus*, but *Plutarch* a
most excellent Oratour and Grecian Philo-
sopher, hath vrritten a most learned booke
purposedly. Of the Latines, *Quintilian* in his
Oratorie institutions hath argued most learn-
nedly, as also long since *Maphe Vegien* data-
rie to Pope *Martin* the fist, hath argued and
vrritten a booke thereof, vwherein he hath so
largely discoursed of that matter, that he hath
cut off all hope from any other to mend him:
notwithstanding, *Vergerius*, and Pope *Pius*
the second, before called *Eneas Silvius*, haue
expressely vrritten thereof, as may euidently
appeare to any that list at large to read that
dif-

discourse. Here might vve find place convenient to discourse at large of seruantes ; men and vvomen, and of their fidelity due to their Masters and Mistresses , likewise how their Masters are to intreat them ; Howbeit, in regard of other matter more difficult, vve vwill referr thee to the Oeconomicall vvorkes of Aristotle and Xenophon, vwho haue handled the same both learnedly and eloquently, especially Xenophon in his most excellent Dialogue of household affaires.

PROceeding to our principall purpose : We haue heretofore sufficiently declared, that sedition is the plague to all Commonweales, also that the mark vwherat every good and politicke administrator of a Commonweale should aime, is to preserue his Cittizens in vnity. We haue also shewed the meanes how to doe it, and at large laid downe the causes that mooue Citizens to sedition, and disperse all politicke vnity. Now are vve to understand, that vnity doth as farre differ from duality and plurality, as God doth differ from the Chaos; and that there is as great a separation between the Creator and the things created , as betweene vnity and plurality. Vnity (as the subtle Mathematician Charles Bouill in his book

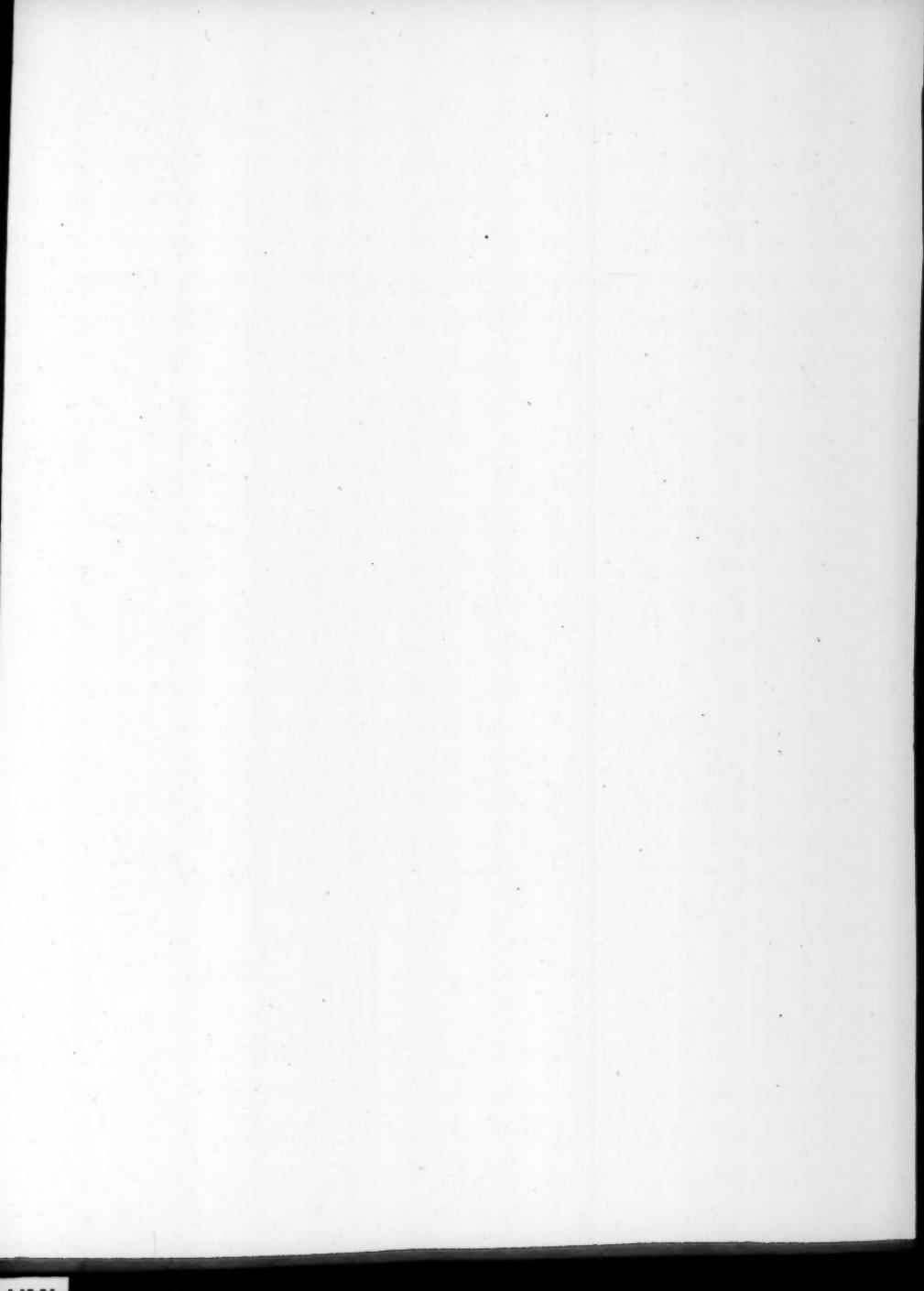
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of numbers, doth teach) is the fountain and ori-
ginal of it selfe, and like as all things do proceed
from God, so do al numbers proceed from vni-
ty, and fall back thereinto again: For let vs cast
as many numbers togither as we list, yet at the
last we shall haue but one summe. Thus there
still remaineth an infallible vnyt. Now among
all other numbers we find the number of seuen
to containe great misteries. Aristotle reporteth,
That the ancients named their children the se-
uenth day after their birth, in the Vniuersity of
creatures we find the number of seuen, the skie
is guided by seuen plannets, the earth is deui-
ded by seuen climates, the world fulfilleth his
course and mans life by seuen ages, the reuolu-
tion of Time is finished in seuen daies (the ac-
complishment vvhether of vve call Week.) The
sonne of man, as we read in the Reuelation,
held the seuen Starres in his right hand, and
vwalked betweene the seuen candlestickes: iust
seuen hundred men did God reserve, that ne-
uer bowed their knees to Baal: neither vwas
the number of Jobs seuen sonnes void of a my-
stery. Thobis maketh mention of seuen Angels
alwaies in the presence of God. Zachary the
Prophet likewise maketh mention of the seuen
ties of God, looking ouer all the earth. Pharo-
ah in his sleepe saw seuen fat kine, and seuen
leane.

Ieane. The creatures inclosed in Noahs Arke
vwent by seuen. The Reuelation speaketh of
seuen Dragons heads , vvearing Crownes:
Likewise of seuen Angels, bearing the seuen
Vials of Gods vrath. David commanded se-
uen men of the sonnes of Saule to be hanged,
as vve may read in the booke of Kings. What
more shall vve speake of the dignity of this se-
uenfold number ? All vertues are contracted
into seuen, three Theologall, and foure Cardi-
nall. At the entry into the Temple there vvere
seuen steppes. The hungry multitude vvere
filled vwith seuen loaues . Neither must I o-
mit the seuen gifts of the Holy ghost, the se-
uen orders of the Church, seuen vworkes of
mercy, the seuenth day vwhich God hallowed
to rest, yet vwill I not speake of the seuen mor-
tall sinnes, vwith sundry other Septenaries men-
tioned by the Philosophers and Phisitions.
Of Phisitions, *Valescus de Taranta* in the
Prologue of his *Philonium*, hath gathered
a heape of Septenaries, as also the great and
soueraigne Mathematician *Macrobius* . Sith
therefore our most good and most migh-
tie God hath vouchsafed and graunted so
highlie to grace this seuenfold number, that
the holie Scripture is full thereof, it is not to
be maruailed at therefore , that hee hath also
vvilled

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vvilled the harmony of this vworld to be preserved by seuen vnities : namely, the vnion Naturall, the vnity Coniugall, the vnity Regular, Parsonall, Essentiall, Ecclesiastical, and the vnity Politicke, vvhetherof only in this place vve do intreat. Now concerning the same, albeit every City and Commonweale do consist of many aud sundry persons, yet is it requisit that their plurality be reduced to an vnity, that is to say, to one consent and vwill, othervvise, it can enjoy no politicall harmony, as it is vwritten in the booke of Judges, vvhile it is said, And all the host of Israel assembled in the City, euen as it had been but one man, vwith one consent and vwill. If (as vve read in the Gospel) a Kingdome diuided shall decay, it must necessarily ensue, that it must bee preserued by vnion, sith it is pulled dowlne vwith diuision. The inequality of Cittizens therefore must be vnitied, as the picture ensuing doth declare, which also for more ample demonstration, vve haue here set dowlne.



By
Fastings.

By
Abstinence.

By
Contrition.

By Contem-
plation.

By
Deuotion
& Praier.

We do offer
Sacrifice of the
soule vnto
God :

Of the thre
goods in Man
do come thre
kindes of Sa-
crifices,

Goods of
the Soule.

Goods of
the Body.

There are
three goods
in Man.

THE TRE

offer
fice of
Bodie
God.

By
Martyrdom
for the main-
tenance of the
law, truth, &
justice.

By Almes
vnto the
poore.

By
Oblations
giue to the
Church.

By giftes
;of charitie
vnto our
neighbor.

We doe Sacri-
fice vnto God
of Externall
goods :

Externall
Goods.

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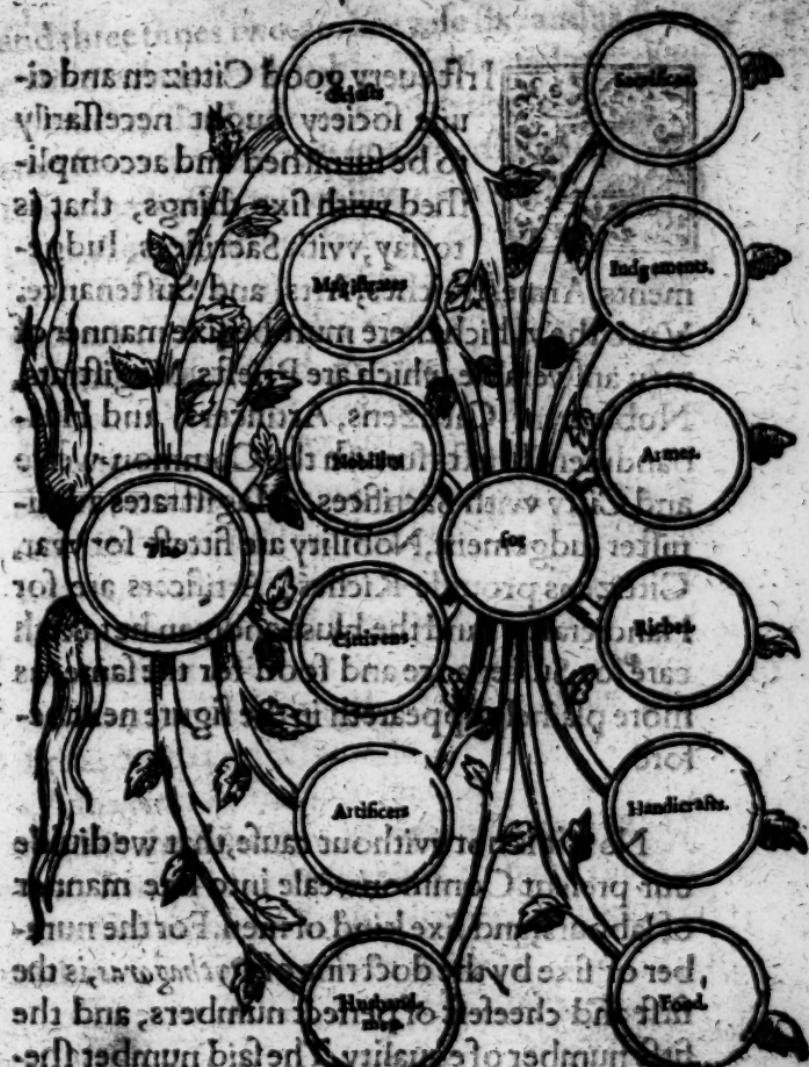
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I st every good Cittizen and ci-
uile society ought necessarily
to be furnished and accom-
plished vith sixe things, that is
to say, vith Sacrifices, Judge-
ments, Armes, Riches, Afts, and Sustenance.
Vnro the vwhich there must be sixe manner of
men answerable which are Priests, Magistrates,
Noblemen, Cittizens, Artificers, and Hus-
bandmen: Priests furnish the Common weale
and City vith Sacrifices, Magistrates admi-
nister judgement, Nobility are fittest for war,
Cittizens prouide Riches, Artificers are for
Handicrafts, and the Husbandman he taketh
care for Sustenance and food for the same, as
more plainly appeareth in the figure next be-
fore.

Now it is not without cause, that we diuide
our present Commonweale into sixe manner
of labours, and sixe kind of men. For the num-
ber of sixe by the doctrine of Pythagoras, is the
first and cheefest of perfect numbers, and the
first number of equality. The said number shew-
eth it selfe perfect, forasmuch as sixe unities, or
sixe times one, are sixe; and twise three is sixe,

The Manner of Reuelling vnt

and three times two, are likewise sixe : and in
euine Deuine sayth in his Arithmeticke,
number of sixe hath an application vnto
cure for an iexacted lether mod superfluous
it nooth least number, but aongst the
parts thereof, it holdeth the meane o
lency. Of this number of sixe, (after the same
extant) Cardinall of Arches, and Charch
and haue discoursed in their Mathematicall
workes. The said Bowe hath vritten thereof
since imitating his Maister, the learned Leger
but Father Tapiscas, who in her time brought
the Mathematicall workes to light. Moreover,
it is hot without great reason, if our present
Commonweale and City be made perfect by
sixe grangars of Citizens, seeing the most ex
cellent and most mighty Engle in times past
brought to perfection the yngersall building
of this notable house in sixe daies, within which
a daungerous holowark was fully frammed. It is
not then a veray thing to haue diuided
our Commonwealth into sixe necessary kind of
habours by sixe manner of men.

The Nature of Polarity

THE MUSICAL PUBLISHERS

The History of Religion

which were received and observed above the first
ages of the world; and that before any civilis-
ation of the earth, there was a common and barbarous
worship by all the Greeks and Romans, which
was continued by them from their first inhabi-
tants as may be learned by their histories
and the books of the Pagan Philosophers, and
The Greeks, who were elongated over
the marches of the whole world before the Roman
Empire, had Sacrifices, Priests, proper and pe-
culiar to themselves, as appeareth by St. Peter,
Paul, & John, who also write of the Church and
others. The Romans which succeeded the Grec-
ians, maintained and kept up Sacrifices and pro-
perty Ceremonies, the which were first institut-
ed by Jupiter, the sunne, the King of creation,
who began to keep the men which he had
made profitably to some little churche & Religion
of gods, although some do say, That before
Elohim, or any had brought into the world
any thing, and Religion of the gods was in the
other Sacrifices (or to say better) superstitions,
and Diabolical illusions, as the much shipping
and removement of the Empire; the dividing
of people, the Vetus, Virginibus, and other's
since instituted by Numa Pompilius the second
King of the Romans, Marcellus the Prince of La-
zarus, & others, and called such maintayned sorts of ancient
only Sacri-

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Sacrifices, made as well by *Aeneas*, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, by King *Latinus*, and *Euander*, as by others, following *Homer* the father of learning. *Macrobius* likewise in his Banquets and Saturnial feasts, reciteth many things of Sacrifices, and diuerse sorts of sacrificing of those of times past. Priests in euery good Commonweale and Citty ought to haue the cheefest and most honourable place, and ought to be honored and reuerenced of all: and when they are such as they ought to be (as Saint *Paule* saith, writing to *Timothie*) they deserue to haue double honour, especially vvhен they read or preach the Gospell, and vvhен as their vvorks and manner of living are conformable and agreeable to their doctrine or preachings. On the contrary (as Saint *Hierome* saith in his Commentaries vpon *Ezechiel*) great is the dignity of Priests, but as great is their fall if they be wicked. If Priests and Prelates do reioice at their aduauncement, they ought to feare to fall: for the ioy of their exalting is not so great , as is the sorrow for their subuersion. Let then Prelates and Priests of our Commonweale bee very carefull , that they sit not in the chaire of Scorners, vwhereof the Kingly Prophet *David* speaketh in his first Psalme : and besides, that God at the last generall iudgement, doe

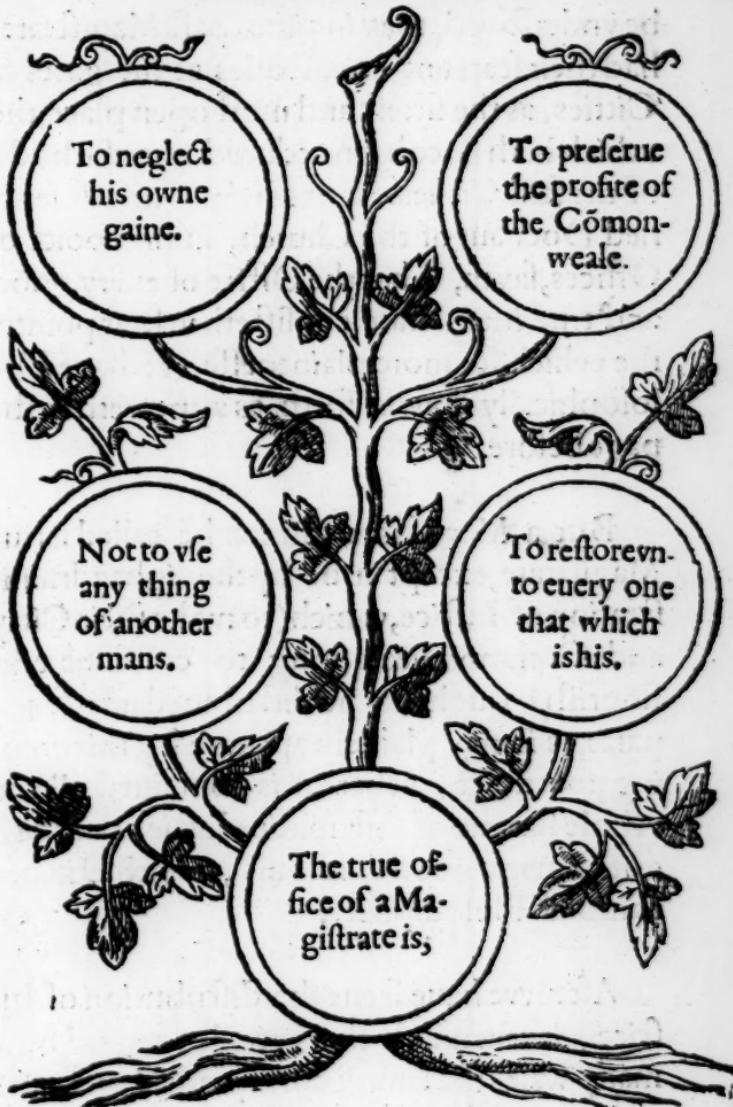
G g
not

not say and reprooue them, That they haue
sat in their Pontificall seats, as in times past
the Scribes and Pharisees did in the seat of
Moyses.



THe second necessarie
thing in euery Cōmon-
weale and City, are
Iudgements, and so conse-
quently Magistrates vwhich
exercise them. The exercise
of Iudgements, and autho-
rity of Magistrates, is a po-
wer from God, appointed
vnto man, vwho in this vworld doe hold the
place of him to yeeld and giue right vnto eue-
ry one. Therefore Magistrates in their Iudge-
ments ought to imitate God, as neere as man
through his frailenesse may. For this cause it is
vwritten in the first of Deuteronomy : Judge
according vnto iustice, for euery iudgement
proceedeth of God. The first ordinance of
Magistrates vvas made by the most excellent
and most mighty God, as it appeareth in the
sixteenth of Deuteronomy before alledged,
vwhere God said vnto *Moyses*. Thou shalt ap-
point Judges and Magistrates ouer my peo-
ple in all the gates of the City, vwhere it is to
be

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be vnderstood, that in times past Magistrates had their seats and consistories at the gates of Citties, as the fittest and most open place; the vwhich hath since beene reduced into the body of the said Citties. Saint Ambrose a most learned Doctor of the Church, in his booke of Offices, sayth, That the Office of euery good and true Magistrate consisteth in four points, the vwhich for more plainenesse vve haue Philosophically drawne forth, as appeareth in the page before.

But a Magistrate cannot be called a true Magistrate, except it be by the right administration of Iustice, vwhich (to make their City and Commonweale long to continue and flourish) ought to be distributed into seuen parts, as it may plainly appeare by this ensuing pourtraict, vwherein is contained all the vwhole summe of distributiu Justice, gathered out of many good Authours, as well Diuines as morall Philosophers.

After vve haue seene the distribution of Iustice, it remaineth that vwe doe regard how many waies the same is corrupted. Magistrates are corrupted by fear: for oftentimes fearing to displease the Prince, or a great Lord, the Magistrate

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gistrate committeth iniustice ; as Pilat did in condemning Iesus Christ to death , for feare of displeasing the Emperour Tiberius . Magistrates are also corrupted through loue and fauour : as Herode the Tetrarch vvas , vwho vwith foolish loue to please a girel vwhich daunced before him , condemned John Baptist to death , although he knew that he vwas a holy and iust man . They are likewise corrupted through hate : as vvas the high Priest , vwho throught hate condemned Saint Paule to bee buffeted and beaten , althoough he had not deserued it . Moreouer , Magistrates are corrupted with gold , siluer , and other gifts : as the sonnes of the good Prophet Samuel vvere , vwho throught gifts corrupted iustice . Besides all this , Magistrates are sometimes corrupted by flattery : as vvas the great King and Monarch of the East Assuerus , vwho throught the flattery of Hamon condemned all the Iewes to death , and to be vtterly rooted out . Otherwhiles , Princes are likewise corrupted vwith too much compassion which they haue of the offenders : as vwas Saul the first King of the Iewes , vwho throught extraordinary compassion , spared the life of king Agag being taken in battaille , vwhom God had commanded him to put to death so soone as he shold be taken , the vwhich he did not . Ma-

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gistrates doe also peruerit iudgement through ignorance of diuine and humane Lawes : and it is no maruaile although ignorant Magistrats doe oftentimes erre, seeing that ignorance is the mother of error. But amongst al the means of corrupting Magistrates, the greatest and that vvhich is of most force, are gifts and presents. And therefore rightly did the vwise Poet Ouid say, That gifts doe appease and bind both gods and men: the vvhich(as concerning men) is apparently manifested vnto vs by the vvorthy example of the Patriarke Jacob, vvhich gifts molified and appeased the vvrath of his brother Esau, vvhich marched in battel to meet vvhich him, being bent vtruly to destroy him. If vve doe call to memory Ethnicks examples, Plutarch in his Apothegmes, rehearseth how Philip King of Macedon, father of Alexander the great, besieged a strong castle seated vpon the top of a Mountaine, vnto the vvhich he sent scouts and espials to see on vwhat side the said castle might bee most pregnable : the scouts made answer that the Mountaine vvas so steepe, high, and strong, that it vvas impossible to climbe vp vnto it : and besides, those which kept the same, vvere couragious and valiant men. Whereunto the said Philip answered, That he iudged it nothing impossible to take

take the said castle vpon the toppe of that strong and very high Mountaine , if that an Asse laden wth gold; might ascend vp to the top therof. Hereby giuing to vnderstand, that there is nothing so vwell fortified, or so strong, vwhich may not bee woon by gold. The Poets (vwho vnder their fictions, haue shadowed apparent verities) did faine, That *Impiter* being amarous of the faire *Danae*, could neuer attain vnto his purpose, vntill he had turned himselfe into a shower of gold. Wherfore *Horace* said, That althoough yron doe tame gold and siluer, yea and all other mettals besides, yet neuerthelesse gold abateth the edge of yron , and passeth through the middest of most stong and armed souldiours. Moreouer, it is no maruell if amongst those vwhich liue in every commonweale, and in all citties, that Magistrats are necessary, especially since the Poets doe faine, that in hell amongst the shadowes of the dead and deceassted, therē be Magistrates, to wit, *Mimas*, *Radamanthus*, and *Eacus*, vvhō do there exercise their judgements.



THe third needful thing in every good Commonweale and City are Armes, and Nobility vwhich haue the managing thereof. Armes, as *Varro* saith, are all warlike instruments, as vwell to assaile our enemies, as to defend vs from the assaults & enterprises of them. Wherunto the Ciuilian *Caius* agreeeth. In every well ordered city and commonweale, Armes and Weapons are necessary, as *Aristotle* saith in his seventh booke of Politickes, and *Plutarke* in his most eloquent booke of ciuile Constitution.

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H h

Armes

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Armes doe alter and differ according to the difference and nature of climates: For as Saint Hierome saith , Euery Nation and Prouince aboundeth in his fence and fancie. Some one vseth long vweapons, others short. The exercise and vse Armes, War, and Battailes, of all antiquity haue been committed to the Nobility. And Nobility (as Aristotle wrriteth in his second book of his Rethoricke) is a vworthinesse proceeding from our ancestors, and an honor comming from auncient discent.

Boetius Seuerin sayth , That Nobility is a praise or commendation vwhich proceedeth from the deserts of our auncient progenitors. The ciuale Doctours doe set downe in the title of Dignities, in the twelfth book, many kinds of gentry:but to speake the truth, both according to Diuinity and Philosophy, there is no true Nobility but that vwhich proceedeth from vertue and good behauour . Noblenesse of stocke and discent is a vaine and foolish bragging, if it be not seconded by vertue : and one of the greatest vwhich vve see at this day is, that some Noblemen of our time trusting only vnto their discent, do thinke themselues to be noble without vertue. At such kind offond and fai-

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fained Nobility vwithout vertue, doth *Lucius* the Greeke Oratour rightly scoffe in many of his most eloquent Dialogues : of Latine Poets, *Horace* in many of his speeches and Epistles, *Iuuenall* in his Satires, *Claudian* in his Panegirickes. But before all these abouesaid, the Prophet *Malachie* vvritheth against such foolish Nobility vwithout vertue, in these vvords: Is not one god the father of all? as if (according to the saying of the Stoicke Philosopher *Seneca*) Nobility comming from our ancestours, the honor thereof appertaineth rather vnto them, then vnto vs. *Salust* vvriting against *Cicerio*, vppbraideth the said *Cicerio*, for that he was descended of the Arpinates, people of the basest and lowest condition; and that he vvas extracted of a noble and auncient stocke: vnto vvhom *Cicerio* answered no lesse learnedly then eloquently, That it vvas true, that *Salust* vvas descended of noble race, but he vwas the first vwhich had debased the Nobility of his house, and that the nobility of his ancestors ended in him, through his vices and leudnesse: and as for himselfe, he confessed that he vwas extracted from the Arpinates people of obscure condition, but yet he vwas the first Gentleman of his stocke, and *Salust* the last of his. But to the end that men

H h ij through

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through pride or vaine boasting of the Nobility of their stock, should not esteeme of them selues more then other men . When God appointed the first Kings , he chose them out of poore and meane houses , as it appeareth by *Saule* the first King of the Iews, vvhō vwas chosen King in keeping and driving his fathers Asses : *Dauid* vvas likewise chosen King , being a Shepheard, and the least of all his brethren . In the Law of grace Christ our Sauiour did chuse for Pastours and Prelates of his Church, *Peter*, *James*, and *Iohn*, & other Apostles vvhich vvere simple mechanicall men , and poore Fishers . Moreouer, euен as the Thorne and Rose doe spring from one Root, in like sort doe Noblemen and Clownes come of one and the same mould . And forasmuch as the Thorne is sharpe and pricketh, it is rejected, and contrariwise the Rose is held in the hand for the good sent and sweetnesse thereof : Likewise, he vvhich by vices maketh himselfe a villaine, ought to be rejected as a pricking Thorne , and he vvhich by commendable vertues maketh himselfe odiferous and sweet, ought to bee esteemed and prised as the Rose, and accounted noble, from vwhat race soever he be descended . *Esaū* and *Iacob* vvere brethren, and of one womb, and yet
one

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one of them vvas noble by vertue, and the other ignoble through vice. The like vvas in *Titus* and *Domitian*, brethren, and sonnes of the Romane Emperor *Vespasian*: For *Titus* was by the Senat named the Delight of the world; and *Domitian* through his execrable Tyrannies, vvas named the Monster of human kind. The stocke and linage maketh not a man noble or ignoble, but vise, education, instruction, and bringing vp, maketh him so : for when a man from infancie is instructed in good manners, all the rest of his life hee shall bee inclined vnto acts of Nobility and Vertue. And on the contrary, if he be euilly instructed in his yong yeares, he vwill haue as long as hee liueth such manners as are barbarous, strange, and full of all villany.

Vpon this matter *Plutarch* saith, That *Lycurgus* the Lacedemonian Lawgiver, desiringe to reduce his Citizens vnto ciuility, & to induce them to bee carefull to instruct their children from their infancy, in good & laudable manners: to shew them a plain demonstration thereof, he took from the dam two yong greyhound whelpes, the one vwhereof he caused to bee exercised in hunting (according to his naturall inclination) and the other in the

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Kitchen. After they vvere great and throughly growne , he brought them vnto a place in the Citty before the Cittizens , and let goe a liue Hare vwhich he had in his sleeue , he had also brought a pot full of flesh and pottage . The greyhound vwhich vvas vsed to hunting, followed and ranne after the Hare, the other vwhich had been brought vp in the Kitchen , went to licke the pot, and smell the sauour of the flesh, hauing no desire to follow after the hare as his fellow did. Then *Lycurgus* said, Behold Cittizens how much good education and instruction in our infancy profitteth : These two greyhounds came both of one damme , and you see that the one as being noble, hath left pot, flesh, and pottage, to follow the Hare, shewing the courage vwherein he is exercised ; and the other degenerating from his nature and kind hath left the Hare for the sauour of the pot, according to his bringing vp, euен so vvill your children doe : For if in their youth they bee vwell instructed and taught , they vvill shew themselues noble , and of good behauour; and on the contrary, if they be vvickedly trained vp, they vvill alwaies be villaines leaud and vicious. But concluding this matter , Nobility and Magistrates in every Common-weale, must

must bee carefull that the children of the Citty may bee as vwell perteinently as generally vwell taught and instructed both in manners and in Learning, and that by good and discreet Maisters, no lesse honest then learned, if they wyl preferue the Nobility of their auncestors vnto all posterities.

THe fourth necessary thing in
every Commonweale, are

Riches, and consequently ci-
tizens, vvhich are vsually the pos-
sessours thereof. And that is be-
cause they are aunciently groun-
ded in the Citty, hauing rents, re-
uenues, and possessions. Where-
fore there is great reason vwhy
they should be called the props and pillars of
the City, and foundations of the Common-
weale. That Riches are necessary in the City,
it appeareth by the saying of Cicero, vwho dee-
meth that they are the sinewes of Warre. For
euen as by the sinewes every humane body
hath feeling and motion, (as the Phisitions
and Anathomists doe affirme) in like sort in
the body politicke, by the sinowes thereof, to

vvit,

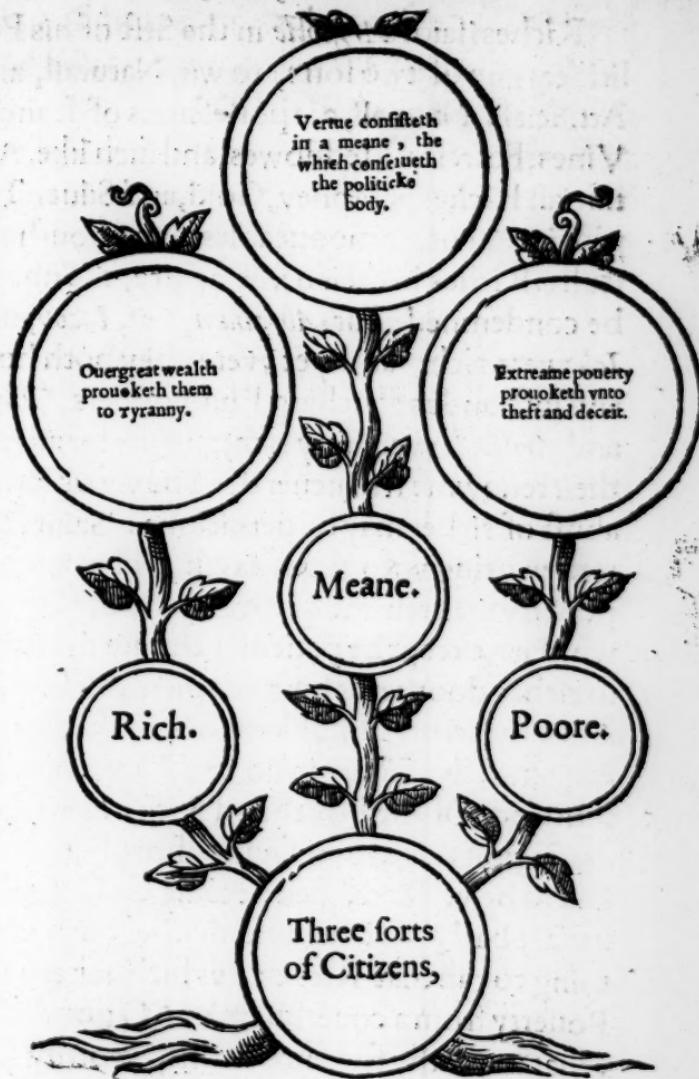


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Vvit, Money, and Richeſ, it hath ſeeling and motion to assemble Souldiours to defend the liberty thereof: the vvhich could not be done otherwise, and especially in theſe daies, where in he vvhich hath Gold and Siluer ynough, ſhall find more Souldiours then he vvillingly vvould. Then ſo it is, that in extremity and neceſſity of warre, the principall Citizens(as being moſt able and beſt grounded) ought to make the cheeffest preparation to defend their Cittie and the liberty thereof.

*Aristotle in his fourth booke of Politickes,
ſets downe*

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Riches (saith *Aristotle* in the first of his Politickes) are of two sorts, to wit, Naturall, and Artificiall. Naturall, are possessions of Lands, Vines, Forrests, Meddowes, and such like. Artificiall Riches is Money, Gold, and Siluer, Tapistrie, and other mooueables, and hoyshold stuffe. Riches in their owne nature, are not to be condemned: For *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Jacob*, and *Iob* vvere rich, and yet vvere they both holy and iust: and as touching Philosophers, *Plato* and *Aristotle* vvere very rich, and yet for all that their renowme shal neuer die. The vse or rather abuse of riches may be pernicious: Saint *Hierome* vwriting vnto *Saluia* sayth, That euen as pouerty maketh the poore man nothing the worthier, except he patiently endure the same, so riches dooth not hurt rich men, vnlesse they abuse the same. The like also saith the most eloquent *Chrysostome* in an excellent Homely, intituled, Of the Poore and Rich. Saint *Ambrose* vpon this matter sayth, That Riches are said to be vvicked, not because Gold and Siluer are bad, but because that it is a vvicked thing to call that Riches, vvhich taketh not Pouerty from a couetous man. O good God what avvorthy sentence is this, worthy (as *Iob* saith) to be grauen vwith an yron penne in Lead or Stone. Herevpon Saint *Bernard* (a man

man of great contemplation saith, That Gold and Siluer, as touching the Soule, is neither good nor bad; & that the vse of them is good, but their abuse is pernicious. Moreouer, Saint *Gregory* sayth in his morall Commentaries vpon *Job*, That vve may truly call those Riches, vvhich doe enrich vs vwith Vertue, and none els. *Palladius* a Greeke Authour, in a most learned Epigram saith, That Gold is the sonne of sorrow and care, and that he vvhich hath it not, liueth in great misery ; and he vvhich hath it, keepeth and possessteth it in great feare and care. *Virgil* in the third of his *Aeneidos* tearmeth Gold an holy hunger. *Ouid* in the first of his Metamorphosis, called Gold and Riches the roots of all mischeefe. *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Horace*, *Juuenall*, and all the Poeticall troupe doe blame Gold, as the spring and fountaine of all euill. For this cause the Cittizens and vwealthiest of the Citty, ought not for all their great riches, despise the poore and inferiour citizens, as labourers and mechanicall men, as *Demosthenes* the Prince of Grecian eloquence, hath expressed in his oration for *Ctesiphontus*. In this sence when a man disdaineth the pouertie of another, he is quite void of wit, for euery man vvhich thinketh himselfe assured of fortune, is like vnto him that banquetth and maketh

great cheare in a house, which cannot last vntill the euening, or next morning.

Finally, *Socrates* the excellent Grecian orator, writing to *Demonicus*, saith, That a wise man neuer ought to disdaine nor cast another in the teeth with his hard fortune, for as much hangeth ouer his owne head. *Cicero* likewise forbiddeth to flout a man ordained to calamity, vvhich is a good lesson for all possessors of riches.



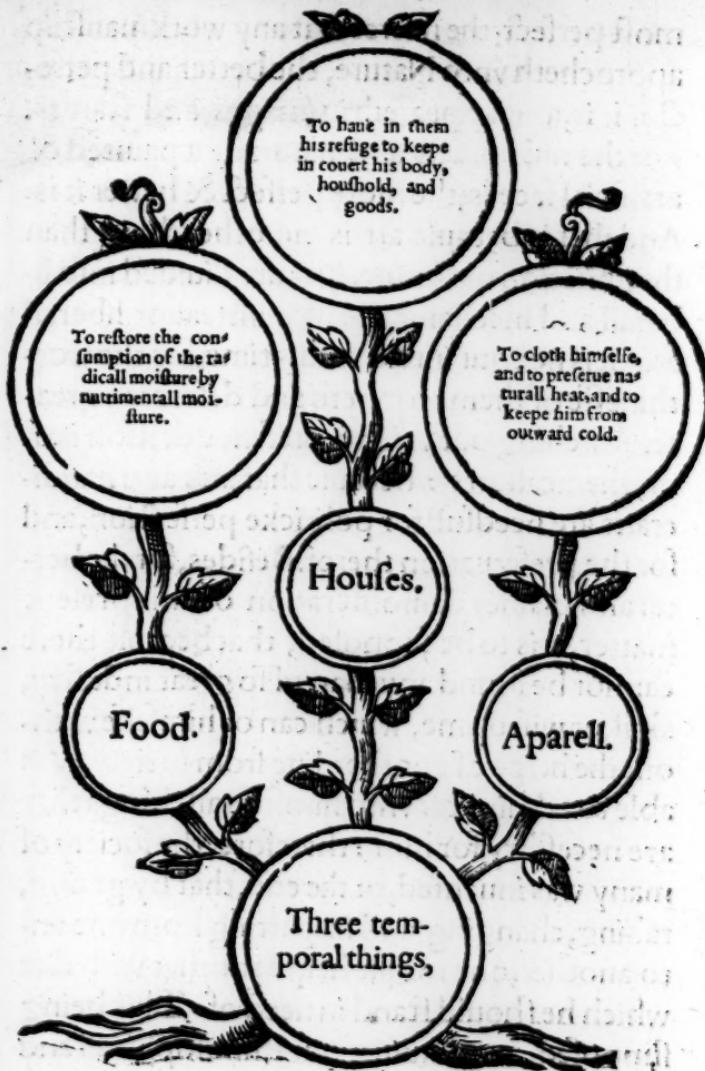
The fifth necessarie thing in euery Commonweale and City are the handicraftsmen, and so consequent-
ly Artificers. Art is an vse to vwork by true reason,
as *Aristotle* saith in the sixt of his Ethickes : or

els art is the knowledge of a certain thing gotten by practise, erudition, or reason, tending to the necessary uses of mans life; after the definiti-
on of *Diomedes*. Of arts, some consist in specula-
tion, other in action. Speculation is that which we call Theoricke, that is to say, Speculatiue.
Action we call practike, which is as much to say as active. Of art, is Artifice derived: and for-
asmuch as next vnto God, Nature is a thing most

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most perfect, the nearer that any workmanship approcheth vnto Nature, the better and perfe-
cter it is, as it appeareth in images and statues.
For the more liuely and naturally a painted &
artificial face is, the more perfect & better it is:
And that is, because art is no other thing than
the imitation of Nature. Arts are diuided into li-
berall and mechanicall : To intreat of liberall
arts, it is not our intent at this time, for the wor-
thinesse of them requireth and deserueth greater
searching out . Our present question is of
mechanicall arts : because that arts and handi-
crafts are needfull for politicke perfection, and
for the preseruation therof. Besides, for the bet-
ter and plainer demonstration of this present
matter, it is to be supposed, that because there
cannot be found any man of so great industry,
skill, or wisedome, which can of himselfe with-
out the helpe of another, liue from society, & is
able to administer vnto himselfe all things that
are necessary for him : therefore the society of
many was inuented, to the end, that by giuing,
taking, changing, and imparting from one vnto
another, one might helpe another with that
which he shoulde stand in need of. This being
supposed, continuing our Philosophicall and
plain demonstration, I say that euery man hath
necessarily need of

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As for the first, vwhich is Food, a man can-
not in any sort liue vwithout it , the vwhich he
hath in common with the brute beasts, who are
as ill able as man to liue without food and su-
stenance. For naturall heat doth continually
consume our radical moisture, as the light con-
sumeth the oyle of the Lampe. It is necessary
then to shunne death, which is the whole con-
sumption of radicall moisture; that we doe in
steed thereof make a supplie of nutrimentall
moisture, as Bread, Drinke, Meat, and other
Sustenance, as all the whole of the cheefe and
excellent Phisitions, as well of the Grecians &
Arabians, as the Latines do affirme. The Hus-
bandmen, Butchers, Fishers, Victuallers, Ba-
kers, Vinteners, Cookes, and all other mechan-
icall men doe prouide and dresse food for
the Commonweale , seruing and purueyng
the Communaltie vwith victuals.

The second needfull thing for man is Hou-
ses, perticular to euery one : and in generall, the
Wals & Fortresses of the city. A House, as *Ari-
stotle* saith in the first of his Politickes, is a daily
societie: and to speake more properly, a House
is a building made to dwell ix safely apart by
ones selfe, as well to defend himselfe, his family,
and goods, as to resist the vwrongs, as well of
wicked men, as of the time: [Such as excessive
heats

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heats are vnder the influence of the dog starre, vwhen as *Horace* saith, The heauenly Lion is in his greatest fury : or to vwithstand the wind, raine, haile, and cold , vwhen Aquarius(as the said Poet vvirideth) troubleth and altereth the time.] Furthermore, the Civilians haue vwritten, That a House is a sure refuge for euery one. Some doe build and set vp Houses and other buildings, by the Art of Architecture, the which is done by Masons, Carpenters, Geometricians, Locksmiths, Joiners, and others vsing caruing. The Citie likewise, as well for ornament, as for defence, hath need of Wals, Castles, Bulwarkes, Ramparts, and other Fortresses, the vwhich cannot be made vwithout Architecture and Masonrie.

The third needfull thing for man , is Aparell to cloth and couer himselfe , as vwell vwhen he vvaketh , as vwhen he sleepeith ; and preserue his naturall heat from outward cold. Vnder this vvord Raiment, all Apparell, as well of Silke, Wool,Linnen,Cotton,as of other stuffe, is contained. The Merchaunts, Mercers, Drapors, Tailors, Hosiers, and such like, as Brokers and others, doe furnish stuffe for apparel. Besides the vwhich things, man dooth also need (to preserue his health , or to recouer it, if he haue lost it) Phisitions, Chirurgions, Apothecaries,

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caries, and other remedies : although that (as *Plato* saith, and *Pluturke* in his Treatise of the preseruation of health) the cheefe Phisicke to maintaine long health, is to keepe a good diet and rule in eating and drinking : for those vwhich neither feede nor drinke excessiuely, shall not bee often sicke. Man likewise to defend his liberty, (the vwhich is of more worth then anie richesse) bodie, goods, and family, hath need of vweapons and armour , asvvell offensive as defensiuue : The vwhich Armouriers, Fourbushers, Cutlers, and such like doe furnish. Man also needeth Horses, the vwhich must bee bridled, saddled, shod, and barbed in time of Warre: vwhich things Sadlers, Spurriers, Farriers, and such like doe furnish the Cittie vwithall. Wherefore it appeareth, that vwithout handicrafts and craftsmen, no good Common-weale nor cittie can either assemble, or bee assembled, as *Aristotle* concludeth in diuerse places of his Politickes. Moreouer, Magistrates ought to haue great care that Artificers bee not idle through lasinesse, or by negligence cease from their labour, and much lesse also to vse any fraud in their wworke. And therein to follow the example of the Indian Philosophers , the Gymnosophists,

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who do punish the vice of sluggishnesse, more
then any other. For they vvere accustomed at
the houre of dinner, not to give any meat to
their children, or seruants, vnlesse they percei-
ued that they had deserued to be fed by their
trauaile or industrie. Amongst them the which
vwas found, and of age to worke, and did not
vworke, did not eat; the which did necessarily
constraine them to labour. The Ants, little
Bees, and silly small beasts, (if vve vwill learne
by them) doe shew a manifest and plaine ex-
ample, labouring in the summer to nourish the
in winter : teaching vs that we ought to take
paines in the summer of youth to maintaine vs
in the winter of age. *Draſo* the famous Law-
maker, vvhose Lawes vvere so feuere, that it
vwas said, they vvere rather vvrritte vwith blood
then inke, condemned those to death vvhich
vwould not labour. Would to God that now
in our Commonweale, there vvere such, or the
like Law , as vwas amongst the *Ægyptians*;
vwherein there vwas no inhabitant, whose name
vwas not registered in the Magistrates booke,
to know whereof he liued , and how he vwas
able to maintaine, as vwell himselfe, as his fami-
lie . The said inhabitants vvere many times in
the

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the yeare examined vwhat they gained and received, to see if their getting and spending were alike: And then the Magistrate might easily iudge if any of the inhabitants did liue by their industrie and trade, or els by theft; and the vagabonds (vwho are cōmonly the plague of the Cittie) easilly knowne, and so consequently driuen and banished out of the Commonweale.

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*31 but heris yesterye ben in these countreys

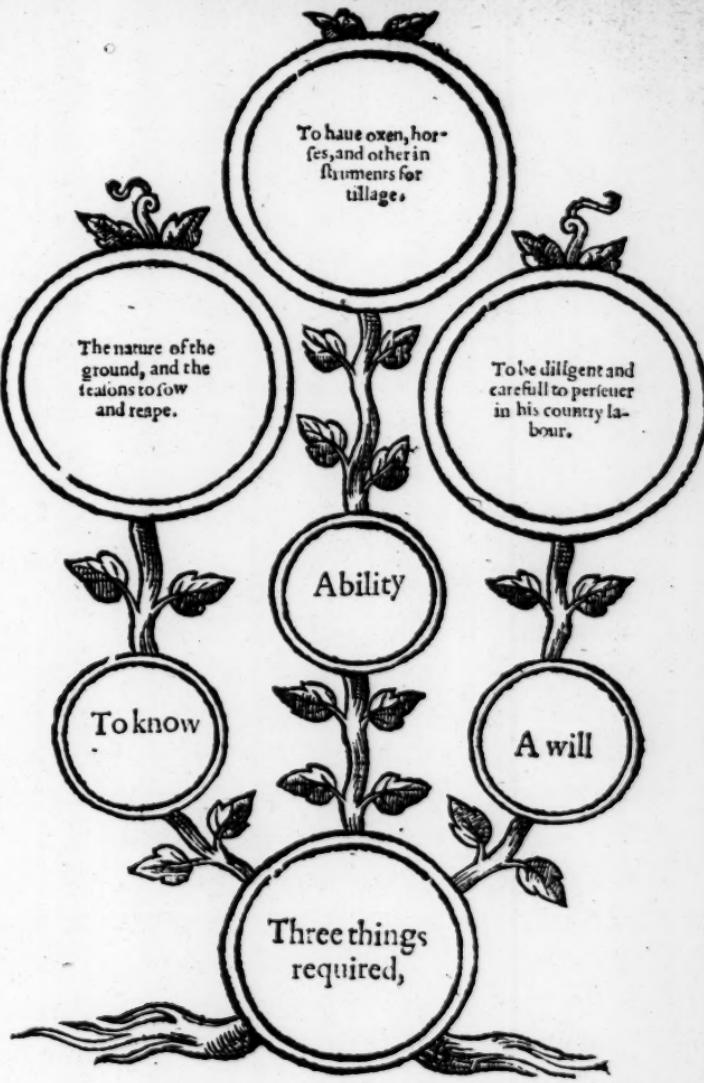


THe sixt and last necessary thing in euerie Common vveale is Food, & so consequently Husbandmen, who although they be of lesse reputation then the rest of the Citties, yet are they as much profitable : For the

belly can endure no delay, and as the old Proverbe saith, The belly hath no eares. The bodily sustenance of the City commeth from the labour of the Husbandmen : The dutie of the which is to liue in their simplicitie, and not to meddle with anie weightie matters, but to doe their endeuer in tilling the ground. This country life hath ben so much commended & esteemed in times past, as many good Authors both Grecians and Latines haue left vworthie books thereof vnto the posterite.

In euerie Countriman that will be called a good Husbandman, are

The Mirror of Policie.





The Mirroure of Policie.

Tillage consisteth in four kinds of ground,
viz, in fields, vnderwoods, forrests, and vvil-
low plots: in orchards, vines, olive, and other
fruitfull trees : in pasturage, as meddowes: in
gardens of pleasure, vvhile roses, lillies, violets
and such sweet flowers grow : in kitchen gar-
dens, vvhilein there are coleworts, beets, and
other hearbs. Husbandry and Tillage is com-
mendable, forasmuch as it bringeth vnto the
Husbandman commodity vwith delight, and
profite vwith pleasure. The commodity and
profite is manifest: For a good Country hou-
sholder is at all times prouided vwith bread,
drinke, flesh, egs, milke, butter, cheese, fruit,
vvood, faggots, bauins, and all without buying
or laying mony out of his purse, as very excel-
lently *Cicero* saith in his booke of old age. The
pleasure is inestimable to the man that know-
eth, and vwill behold the vworkes of Nature.
Moreouer, a Cherry or an Apple gathered
vwith thy hand from a Cherytree or Appletree
of thine owne planting, vwill be more pleasing
vnto thee, and better content thee, then one
hundred bought in their steed. For the Coun-
try pleasure is not knowne, but to the fauou-
ters of *Minerua*, that is, to men of contempla-
tion. For Ciuilians and Lawyers do nothing
regard

regard the Country pleasure : and that vwhich all diuine and humane Philosophers doe ac-
count the cheefest benefite in this wworld, that
is, the quietnesse of mind, the vwhich is sooner
found in the Country, then in the City ; the fa-
vourers of the Law doe esteeme to be vice, ap-
plying all their vvit and endeavour to trouble
the common peace by sutes , vwithout the
vwhich most part of them vwould die vwith
hunger. And because they haue no other trade
to sustaine their liues , they doe daily procure
the Citizens and inhabitants vnto discord and
dissention , vwhich is one of the horriblest
plagues that can be in the Commonweale.
Moreouer , every man of found iudgement
dooth know, That in the country the commo-
dity of the foure elements is found to be grea-
ter then in cities and townes. As for fire, a man
may vvarme himselfe better in the country, by
reason of the commodity of vwoods and for-
ests, for the aire is more cleare & more whole-
some there then in citties, for the Sunne which
(as Aristotle and Pliny do affirme) is the sou-
raigne purifier, spreadeth his beames from the
East vnto the West vwithout any hinderance at
all either of houses or buildings vwherewith
cities are pestered, so as hee vwhich vwill there
haue

haue the Sunne to shine in his house, must stay
for the circuler perambulation thereof. And
there are manie houses in Citties to be seene,
that are so pestered and choked vp one vwith
the other, that the Sunne doth sildome or ne-
uer shine on them. The vvinds also, specially
the Northerne, can neuer blow so freely there,
as in the Country, because that the neerenesse
of the houses and buildings doe hinder it : so
that by all reason the aire can neuer be so sweet
and pleasing as in the country. If it vvere as fa-
miliar vwith vs, as the Southwind is, our climate
vwould be farre more vwholesome. The South-
erne vvind, as concerning the operations that
it effecteth vwithvs, is vwhite and moist, and so
consequently corruptible, and the father of
putrifaction, as *Plinie* saith in the second of his
naturall History. This bad and vnwholesome
Southerne vvind vwas by *Virgil* and *Ouid* called
rainie, by *Boetius* troublesome, by *Horace* leaden,
because that when it bloweth, it maketh
the body heauie and boudenous. Saint *Hierom*
calleth it the butler or pouer forth of vwater,
because it commonly bringeth rainie. In the
country likewise at such time as the dog starre
by the furie of his heat and drought vveake-
neth our bodies, and maketh our spirits heauy,
when the Sunne is lodged with the Lion , we

find more coolenesse there then we doe in cities and townes. As for vwater, the Fountaines, Riuers, and Brookes of the Country doe re-
fresh and delight vs as much or more then any other thing. And concerning the earth, the fruitfulnesse thereof , yea all the secrets of Nature are plainly shewed vnto vs in the cou-
try, vwhich are hidden from vs vwhen vve remain in Cities. Lastly (as *Ciceron* saith in his Offices, and in his booke of Old age) there vvas never any man of good capacity vwhich hath not preferred (as vwell for the health of body, as for the recreation and quietnesse of mind) the country before the city, and the Husbandry la-
bour before the Citielife: for vwhich cause ma-
ny Romane Emperors haue in times past for-
saken and left their Pallaces, Capitols, Trium-
phant Arches, Theatres, Amphitheaters, Baths,
Collosses, Pyramides, and all other gorgeous
and magnificent buildings, to withdraw them-
selues into the country, there vwith their owne
hands to plant Trees, Orchards, and Gardens:
as vve read of *Dioclesian* the Emperour , and
others, rehearsed by *Vaterius*.



Of Aliens, Strangers, and Pilgrimes,
*and how they ought to bee vsed in euery
good Commonweale.*



Auing finished and ended the harmony of the politicke bodie, by six sorts of Citizens, thereunto necessarily requisite: it resteth now, that I doe perticularly discourse of Strangers, Aliens, and Pilgrimes, vwho although they bee none of the bodie of the Commonweale and Cittie, yet are they abiding therein for a season. Strangers ought to be receaued courteously, so that they come into the Cittie vpon some honest cause, and that they bring profite. The conference and conuersing vwith Strangers and Aliens is oftentimes very profitable for the Commonweale for the trafficke of Merchaundise. And in as much as Nature wwould not distribute all her benefites vnto one place alone, but part and deuide them, giuing vnto one climate

that vwhich wanteth in another, recompen-
sing the barrennes of one thing vwith the fruit-
fulnesse of another: the frequentation & haunt
of Strangers is very often necessary in every
~~Commonweale~~. The Indians (as *Virgil* in his
Georgiques saith) doe send vnto vs Iuory, the
Sabians Incense, the Calibes Iron and Steele,
and so in like sort from diuerse countries, sun-
dry things are sent. In our daies from Calicuth,
(a Land newly found out ynder the Antartick
Pole) Brasilia, Ebany, and Guiacum is brought
vnto vs. The Englishmen doe send vnto other
countries their cloths, and in stead therof they
bring home Wines and other commodities,
vwhereof they are depriued by the rigour of
their climate, which is too cold. Notwithstanding,
it is not good nor fit to admit Strangers
vnto secret counsell amongst the Cittizens,
especially in matters of war, for very great in-
conuenience might ensue thereof, nor yet to
suffer any great multitude of Straungers in
the citie. It vvas the destruction of the Troi-
ans, vwho admitted the Achaians into their ci-
tie: and of the Bizantines. We read in Exodus,
That the Israelites robbed the Agyptians of
their Gold and Siluer, amongst vvhom they
had liued the space of four hundred yeares.
The Athenians established a law, wherein they
in-

inhibited al strangers from dancynge
in the common theatre, vnder paine of a hundred
sand drams of Siluer. For they could not thinke
Strangers worthie of that benefit that was re-
serued only for some borne Citizens: as
Plutarcus doth say in the life of *Phocion*.
It hath beene alwaies question whether Strangers may
not at all be admitted to some Office in the
Commonwealth. Some doe maintaine that such
Magistrates as haue the mortall Empire (that is
to say, that are inclusively to give sentence of
death) ought to be strangers, for in case a ci-
zen iudge give sentence of death against a ci-
itizen, it breedeth more spight and envy then if
a stranger had done it. Moreouer it is to bee
presumed that a citizen iudge, or Magistrate,
wil shew more fauour to a guilty citizen, where-
by the transgression of citizens shall for the
most part escape without punishment, and so
might be the cause of the ouerthrow of the ci-
ty or commonweale: and in this regard, euen
to this day many cities and communalties of
Italy do chuse into such offices of Magistracie,
strangers and forreiners. Others of the contra-
ry opinion do alledge, that in such honors offi-
ces and dignities of a cittie, the originarie citi-
zens are to be preferred before strangers: and
so do we finde it alwaies to haue been obserued

